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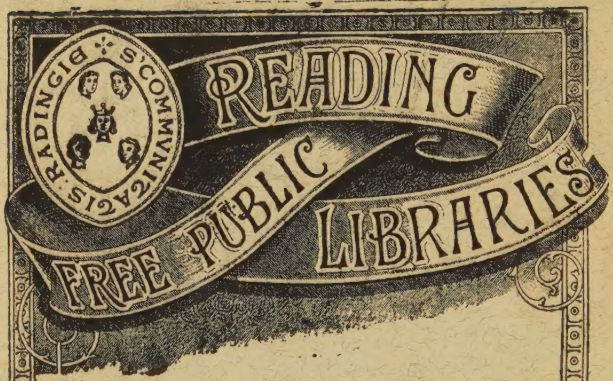

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF SUSSEX

H477 AR

by

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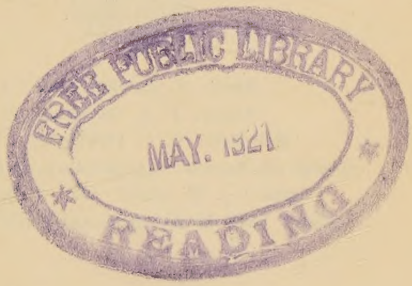

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To M. W. M.

PREFACE

THE following work was originally written as a dissertation for the degree of B.A. with Honours in English Language and Philology in the University of Liverpool. It has since been completely revised and brought up to date. The scope of the book is purely linguistic; no attempt has been made to describe geographical or topographical features, although these have naturally been taken into account in determining etymologies.

My source for the modern forms of the names has been Kelly's *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex*, amplified by reference to Bartholomew's *Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles* and to the *Times Atlas*. Besides the Introduction, the work falls into two parts. Part I contains in alphabetical order all Sussex names for which early forms have been found, with a discussion concerning their meaning and history; Part II presents classified lists of the elements occurring in Sussex names. Many names which through lack of early spellings do not appear in Part I will thus be found in Part II under their separate elements.

It is my pleasant duty to return my best thanks to Professor H. C. Wyld, who suggested the work and who, always ready with help and advice, has since revised the proof-sheets with me; also to Professor Mawer, of Armstrong College, Newcastle, who, when External Examiner to the University of Liverpool,

read the original MS. and gave me many hints for its improvement. I have also to thank Professor Dibelius, of Hamburg, who read the whole of the manuscript as it was being revised, offering many valuable suggestions and criticisms, and the Rev. A. A. Evans, Vicar of East Dean, who has given me much information about local pronunciations when Hope's *Dialectal Place-nomenclature* failed me. In Part I I have marked with E. the forms which I owe to Mr Evans. I have naturally made much use of the literature of place-names mentioned in the Bibliography below; especially would I thank my friend and former fellow-student, Mr B. Walker, of Cowley Grammar School, St Helens, who supplied me with much information from the MS. of his Derbyshire Place-names, which has now appeared.

Since the work is not intended for beginners, I have omitted too minute an explanation of the linguistic phenomena observable in the development of Sussex Place-names. For the same reason the number of references to the results obtained by my predecessors in place-name research is large, and I hope this feature will contribute to the utility of the monograph.

R. G. ROBERTS.

HAMBURG, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *Spelling.*

Many of the apparent sound-changes which appear in D.B. and in the 11th and 12th centuries are merely spelling-changes, and are due to the attempts of Norman scribes to render sounds which had no symbols in their alphabet. Moreover the same scribes frequently wrote Norman-French symbols for English sounds which had equivalents in their own speech. The M.E. *seldcēne* for O.E. *seldgesēne*, and the modern Sussex *Alciston* for O.E. *Ælfsigestūn* are examples of this habit.

(*a*) Of Norman-French attempts to render English sounds foreign to the scribes, D.B. has numerous instances. They were especially vague about diphthongs; the O.E. *ēā* appears variously in D.B. as *a*, *e*, *ae*, and even *ai*.

The spelling *-ey-* in early documents often seems to be an attempt to express the long tense *ē*. Cf. *Steyning* and *Treyford* (= *trēōford*) below, and *Chelmorton* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

(*b*) Among consonants, *-h-* = *-ḣ-* (front-open-voiceless) was usually expressed by *-s-* (see early forms of *Brightling* and *Brighton* below), and the English þ (voiced or voiceless) was written almost universally *t* or *d*. Cf. such D.B. spellings as *Tacheha* for *Thakeham*, and *wrde, worde* for O.E. *weorþ*, "homestead." The spelling *-ch-* in D.B. very seldom expressed (*tʃ*) the descendant of O.E. *ċ* (front-stop), but was principally used to indicate the back-stop. Cf. such D.B. spellings as *Chingestone* for *Kingston* (q.v. below) and *chemere* for *Keymer* (q.v.). The Lancashire *Knowsley* appears in D.B. as *Chenulweslei* (= O.E. *Cĕn(w)ulfeslēāh*; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under this name).

The O.E. symbol *c* was always written for the O.E. *ċ* (< *tʃ*) sound during the whole of the O.E. period, and part of the early M.E. (till about 1150), and when this symbol appears in D.B. it either means (*tʃ*) or (*s*) (cf. *Alciston*, p. 1 below), and *never* (*k*).

(*c*) Before combinations of s + cons. in the initial position, the Normans prefixed a "prothetic" *e-* which was pronounced as (*e*) or (ɛ), and which survives in French at the present day. Cf. Fr. *état* < *estat* < Lat. *statum* (acc.); *être* < *estre* < Late L. **essere*; *écu* < *escue*(*t*) < Lat. *scutum*; *espace* < Lat. *spatium*, etc.

This *e-* is often found before Engl. names beginning with s + cons.; for examples cf. D.B. *Eslindone* = *Slindon*; *Estrat* = *Streat* or *Street*; *Estocbridge* = *Stockbridge* (see these names below) and *Esmedune* = *Smithdown* (*Road*) (Liverpool), q.v. in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

This change, however, was purely Norman-French, and, as far as I am aware, no modern English pl.-ns. show retention of the *e-*. At any rate, no examples are adduced by Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence on Engl. Pl.-Ns.).

§ 2. *The chief M.E. spelling-changes.*

(α) *Vowels.*

1. *ŭ* is written *o* (but pronounced *ŭ* > mod. a, u) in the neighbourhood of *w*, *m*, *v*, *n*, *l*, *r*. O.E. *-tūn* > *-tŭn* (unstressed), generally written *-ton*; so also O.E. *-dūn* > *-dŭn* = *-don*. The early forms of *Woolavington* (q.v.) have five *Wol-*, *Woll-* as against one *Wullavington* in 1411–12.

2. O.E. *ū*, M.E. *ū* written *ou*, *ow* probably through influence of French. O.E. *hūs*, M.E. *hous* (M.E. *ū*, *ou* pronounced as *ū*, probably not diphthongised till late in the 15th century). O.E. *mūs*, M.E. *mous*(*e*), etc.

3. There is another M.E. *ou* which is a diphthong and represents (*ou*) or (*ōu*), as in *Houghton*, *Stoughton* (q.v.). This *-ŏ̄u-* was levelled under *-ă̄u-* and developed into modern (ɔ̄).

4. M.E. *y* represents (*ī*) less often (*ĭ*) but never (*ÿ* high-front-tense round). This latter sound is written *u*, and sometimes *ui* if long.

5. From the 14th century *-ie-*, *-ye-* were often written for M.E. tense (*ē*) as distinguished from the slack (ɛ̄) which was generally *ea*, *e*. Cf. mod. believe, as lief, reprieve (M.E. *ē*); stead, head, lead (M.E. ɛ). On *-ey-* for (*ē*) cf. 1 (α) above and the *-ei-* spellings in *Grinstead* below.

(β) *Consonants.*

1. O.E. *ċ* > M.E. (*tʃ*) generally written *-ch-* initially after the beginning of the 12th cent., and occasionally medially as *-tch-*, but not before the 14th cent. See the early forms of *Echinham*.

2. O.E. *sċ* > M.E. (*ʃ*) written variously. *Sch-*, *sh-* and *-ss-* (the latter is common in Kentish texts and is possibly due to N.-Fr. influence). See early forms of *Shipley* below.

3. *u*, *v* are written indifferently for (*v*). It is sometimes difficult to decide whether *u* is a consonant or a vowel. Cf. the common Ancren Riwle spelling *vuel* (= üvel = O.E. *yfel*), and as a second element M.E. *-oure* < O.E. *ōfre* (dative), "a bank" (see *Bignor* below), *w-* sometimes = *wl-*, cf. *Wlavinton*, H.R. ii. anno 1274 = *Woolavington*, and the common *-wrth* = O.E. *weorþ*.

4. O.E. *h* (back-open-voiceless) and O.E. *ḣ* (front-open-voiceless) generally written *g*, *gh*, sometimes *c* in the combination *-ct-*. Cf. *-legh*, *-leg* = O.E. *lēāh*, and see *Brighton*, *Houghton* and *Laughton* below.

§ 3. *Phonology.*

(α) *Vowels. Isolative changes.*

1. O.E. *ā*, M.E. *ǭ*, mod. $ō^{u}$. O.E. *stān*, M.E. *stǭn*; O.E. *-hlā*, M.E. *lǭ*, mod. *-lowe* (= -lōu) as a second element.

2. O.E. *æ* generally > *ă* in M.E., but often *ĕ* in Sussex. O.E. **Bæbbantūn* > mod. *Babintone*, but also *Bebyngton* and *Bepton*; O.E. *Ælfesstede* and *Ælfwinesstede* > M.E. *Elvestede* and *Elnestede* respectively > mod. *Elstead*: O.E. *cnæpp* > Knepp Castle (all early forms in *-a-*).

3. O.E. *ǣ* (= W.Gmc. *ā*) and *ǣ*[2] (*i-* umlaut of O.E. *ā*) together with O.E. *ēā* are levelled under M.E. slack ɛ̄ (if not previously shortened). O.E. *gemǣru* > M.E. (1) *mēre*, "boundary" [= *ǣ*]: O.E. *lēāh*, *Ēādburg* > late O.E. *lǣh*, *Ǣdburg* > M.E. *lēh*, *Ĕdburg*. On shortening of this *ǣ* see § 3, γ (1) below.

4. O.E. *ē* (1. mutation of *ō*; 2. lengthening of *ĕ* before *-ld*, *-nd*, *-mb*, etc.; 3. Kentish type of *ǣ*[2], cf. 3 above) is levelled with O.E. *ēō* and becomes M.E. tense *ē*, if not shortened by combinative change. Examples—*ē*[(1)], O.E. *grēne*, M.E. *greene*, see *Grinstead*; *ē*[(2)], O.E. *fēld*, M.E. *fēld*, mod. "field"; *ē*[(3)] (Kt. type of *ǣ*[2]). O.E. *stǣningas* > late Kt. *stēningas* > M.E. *stēninges* > *stĕnings* (see Luick's 3 syllable theory below), mod. *Steyning* = (steniŋ).

5. O.E. *ī*, *ĭ* remained in M.E. *ī* was later diphthongised and developed into mod. (*ai*). Cf. O.E. *sittan*, mod. *sit.*: O.E. *rīdan*, mod. *ride* (= rɑid).

6. O.E. *ō* > M.E. *ō*, later over-rounded to *ū* and generally spelt *-oo-*. This *ō* or *-oo-* was never confused with the slack *ǭ* from O.E. *ā* or the lengthening of O.E. *ŏ* in open syllable. O.E. *pōl*, mod. *pool* (pūl); O.E. *brōma*, "genista"; M.E. *brome*, *broome*, see *Broomhill*.

7. O.E. *ū* > M.E. *ū* later diphthongised to mod. (*aŭ*). Cf. § 2, α (2) above.

8. The question of the distribution of the M.E. *i*, *e*, and *ŭ* spellings for O.E. *y̆* has been made the subject of a careful enquiry by Wyld in Engl. Studien 41, 1913. In Sussex *u* and *e* predominate, while *i* occurs comparatively seldom. For example, O.E. *hyrst* occurs in the early forms generally as *-hurst* or *-herst*, rarely as *-hirst*, while no modern Sussex name has the latter spelling. In the discussions under the names below I have arranged the M.E. forms under separate types. Very often only one type remains in the modern name, but sometimes two are preserved. See for example, *Chidham*, *Didling* or *Dudelyng*, *Guilford* or *Guldeford*, *Rotherbridge* and *Piddinghoe* below.

There are some cases in which *i*, *e*, and *u* appear in M.E. where the starting-point is not O.E. *y̆*. Cf. *Chidham* below, in which M.E. *Chedham* < O.E. **Ceddanhām* (undiphthongised), M.E. *Chidham* < O.E. **Ciddan-* (W.S. monophthonging), M.E. *Chudeham* < O.E. *Cyddan-* (W.S. rounding of *i*, *ie* to *y*). See also *Bilsham* in Pt I.

(β) *Vowels. Qualitative combinative changes.*

1. O.E. *āw* > M.E. *ău* > mod. (ɔ̄).

O.E. *hlāw* > M.E. *lawe* > (lɔ̄). See *Cudlawe* and *Cudlow* below. Mod. *-low* (-lou) is from the O.E. nom. *hlā* type.

O.E. *crāwe-* > M.E. *crau-* > (krɔ̄-). See *Crawley* below and compare *Crowhurst* < O.E. **Crāhyrst.*

2. O.E. *aga* > *au* > (ɔ̄); O.E. *dragan* > M.E. *drawen*; O.E. *scaga* ("wood," "shaw") > M.E. *shaw(e)*.

3. M.E. *a* is diphthongised to *au* before a nasal and before *l*-combinations. These changes are generally taken to be due to the influence of Norman-French. In modern English sometimes the diphthongised, sometimes the undiphthongised type has survived; cf. *chance, lance, aunt, ant, haunt, launch, paunch,* etc. In Sussex: (1) Before nasals. O.E. **Eammerlǣh* > M.E. *amberlei* > *aumberlei* (see *Amberley*, Type II, below); late O.E. *Wlancing* > M.E. *Lansing* (N.-Fr. influence, see the names in Pt I) > *Launsing* > mod. *Lancing* (lɔ̄nsiŋ) and (lɑ̄nsiŋ). (2) Before *l*-combinations. O.E. **Cufald* > M.E. *Coufald*; appears once as *Cufaude*; M.E. *Balecumb* and *Baldcumb* > late M.E. *Baulcumb* > mod. *Balcombe* (bɔ̄(l)kəm). Examples are numerous in the names treated in Pt I.

4. O.E. *ăg, ĕg, ēh, aḣ, eḣ* or such combinations if they arose early in M.E. > *ai, ei* > mod. (ei).

O.E. *weg*, M.E. *wei* also later *wai* > *way*; *græg* > *grai, grei*; O.E. **mægfeld* > *Mayfield* (q.v. below); O.E. *lǣhtun* > M.E. *lĕhtun* > *leihtun* > (*leitn). See *Laughton*, Type I below, and cf. Phonology, § 3, γ (1).

5. *e* is diphthongised to *eu* before *l*. This is a N.-Fr. change and only appears in the element *-feud* = O.E. *feld* and in *Beuchief* (= Beachy q.v.) < *bel chef*. No trace has survived in modern Sussex names.

6. O.E. early M.E. *er* > *-ar-*. This is a well-known sound-change. Cf. the standard pronunciations of *Derby, hearth, clerk,* etc. all with *ā*. Sussex examples are M.E. *Bercombe* > *Barcombe*; O.E. *ceorlatūn*, mod. *Charlton*; M.E. *Herst Monceux* > **Hermonceux* > (hɑ̄mɑunsiz). See *Herst Monceux* below.

7. M.E. *e* is raised to *i* before certain consonant combinations, especially before nasals. It is not possible to decide definitely whether the change is combinative or isolative. Morsbach (Me. Grammatik, pp. 143–4) says the change takes place mainly before *d*, *t*, *s*, *þ*, *r*, *l*, *n* (vor dentalen und dental-nasalen), before *ġğ*, *ch*, *sh*, *x*, *gg*, *k* (vor palatalen reibe- und verschlusslauten) also before *ng*, *nk*. The change begins in the 13th century and is commoner in the 14th. See the early forms of *Grinsted* below, where six forms in *Grin-* appear between 1316 and 1421. Examples of this sound-law before nasals are very common. Cf. the very name *English* (iŋgliʃ). In Sussex: (1) Before nasals. O.E. **bēānstede* > M.E. *bēnstede*, mod. *Binsted*; O.E. **Bēānheretūn* > M.E. *beneretun* > *bendritun*, mod. *Binderton*; O.E. *grēnstede*, mod. *Grinsted*. O.E. **Ēomrē(es)horn* > M.E. *Emberhorne*, mod. *Imberhorne*. Cf. also Jespersen, Mod. Engl. Grammar, pp. 64, 65. (2) Otherwise: before M.E. *-ch*—O.E. *Eccanfeld*, mod. *Itchingfield*; before M.E. *-s*—O.E. *mēōswille*, mod. *Miswell*.

Cf. also the examples given by Walker in Derby. Pl.-Ns., *Idrigehay* (= iðəsi) < O.E. **Ēādricesġehæġe*; *Ilkeston* < **Eolcestūn*. These raisings may in some cases be due to some analogy, but how it is not easy to see. It is difficult to understand why *e* should be raised in so many cases, and yet by no means everywhere.

8. The influence of an initial lip-stop is seen in the 1579 *Bordham* for mod. *Birdham* < O.E. **bridhām*, and in 1316 *Borlavyton* (modern *Barlavington*) < *Berlaventun* < O.E. **Beornlāfantūn*. Perhaps also in the form *Boleynshurst* = M.E. *Billingeshurst*, although in this case the *Boleyn-* may be a mere N.-Fr. spelling.

Cf. also modern names in *War-* (wɔ̄-). In this case the rounding belongs to the modern period and was perhaps not completed till the beginning of the 19th century. See Jespersen, Mod. E. Gr., and Horn, Hist. E. Gr. Examples in Sussex are: *Warminghurst* < O.E. **Wermanhȳrst* < **Wyrman-*; *Warnham*, *Warningcamp*, and *Warninglid*, all of which go back to O.E. **Wernan-* gen. of the pers. n. *Werna*, and *Wartling* < O.E. **Wertelingas* < **Wyrtelingas*. See all these names below.

(γ) *Quantitative Vowel Changes.*

1. There are of course numerous examples in Sussex of the usual lengthenings in open syllables and shortenings before consonant combinations, of which the pages of Pt I show ample proof. It is worth noting that O.E. *ēā* and *ǣ*, which were levelled under *ǣ* in late O.E., appear when shortened in M.E. as *ă* or *ĕ* according to the period in which the shortening took place. On this point see Pogatscher, Anglia XXIII. pp. 302 ff., and Ritter, Anglia, June 1913, pp. 269 ff., also Jordan's article on M.E. dialects in the Germanische-Romanische Monatschrift II. p. 124. In Sussex the O.E. *lēāhtun* > *lǣhtun* > (i) *lăhtun*, (ii) *lēhtūn* > *lĕhtun*. Type I has given rise to the modern *Laughton*, but the second, which would give **Leighton*, is common among the early forms. O.E. **Hǣþlēāh* appears in mod. Sussex as *Hadlow* (with change of suffix), whereas **hǣþfeld* gives *Heathfield*, locally pronounced as (hefl). O.E. *Easttūn* > *Easton*; **Ēādburgtūn* > *Edburton* in Sussex; but cf. the numerous *Astons*, *Abram* (= **Ēādburgham*) in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and *Adderbury* in Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns. Ritter (Zur engl. *Ǣ*/*Ē* Grenze, loc. cit.) quotes *Edmund*, *Edward*, etc. by the side of *Abberley*, *Abberton*, *Adbalton*, *Atherstone*, etc., and gives for O.E. *hǣþ-* the developments *Hat-*, *Had-*, *Heat(h)-*, *Head-*.

2. *Shortening of accented long vowels in M.E.*

Many trisyllabic pl.-ns. in mod. Engl. have a short vowel in the first syllable, whereas in the M.E. prototypes this vowel was long. This shortening was explained by Luick in the third of his "Beiträge zur englischen Grammatik" in Anglia XX. pp. 335 ff. On p. 339 he states "das gesetz,...wonach in dreisilbigen Wörtern und überhaupt formen länge gekürzt wird und andererseits natürlich vorhandene kürze trotz stellung in offener silbe bewahrt bleibt." Among his examples are *Coventry* < M.E. *Cōventre* < O.E. *Cŏfan-*; *Whitaker* < O.E. *hwītæcer*; *Beverley* < O.E. *Beoforlic*; *errand* < M.E. *ērende* < O.E. *ærende*; *ammet* < O.E. *æmette*, etc.

Examples of this shortening in Sussex are *Beddingham* < M.E. *Bēdingehomm* < O.E. *Beadingahamm*, contrast *Beeding* <

O.E. *Beadingas*; *Bevendean* < M.E. *Bēvendene* < O.E. *Beofandenu*; *Poynings* (= paniŋz) < M.E. *Pūninges* < O.E. *Pūningas*; and *Steyning* (= steniŋ) < M.E. *Stēninges* < O.E. Kt. *Stēninges* < *Stēningas* (*æt Stēningum* in C.D.). See all these names in C.D. and note that the last two, through having lost the M.E. *-es*, have become disyllabic in mod. Engl. Possibly also this law will explain *Rodmell* (q.v.) < M.E. *Rōdemelde* < O.E. *rēādamylde* with shifting of stress to the second element of the diphthong.

3. *Loss of syllables in unstressed positions.*

It frequently happens that a long pl.-n. containing a long O.E. word as its first element appears in a considerably shortened form in mod. Engl. In these cases a syllable has been lost in M.E., mainly through the levelling of unstressed vowels which took place in that period and subsequent syncope. When this happened, there arose an unpronounceable consonant-combination which was simplified by dropping the whole syllable. See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., § 14, pp. 27–28.

Examples in Sussex are O.E. **Briht(helmes)tūn* > *Brighton*; O.E. **Ceorl(lāce)stūn* > *Charleston*; O.E. *Gōd(wine)wudu* > *Goodwood* (gudəd); O.E. *Wīg(stāne)stūn* > M.E. *Wīhstūn* > mod. *Wiston*. Cf. also the pronunciation *Barlton* for *Barlavington*, which also shows this phenomenon. I.e. O.E. *Beornlāfantūn* > M.E. *Ber(n)lavinton* > *Barlavington* as one type, and M.E. *Berlavinton* > *Berl(vn)tun* > *Berltun* > *Barlton* as the other.

(δ) *Consonants. Isolative Changes.*

1. O.E. medial *-h-* (back-open-voiceless) is labialised in M.E. to h^w > mod. (*f*). O.E. *Burghām* > *Burhhām* > M.E. *Burh^{w}ham*, mod. *Burpham*; O.E. *Fealhham* > M.E. *Felh^{w}ham* > mod. *Felpham*; O.E. **Slaganham* > *Slagham* > *Slah^{w}am* > *Slaugham* (= slæfm). In modern Sussex both *Burpham* and *Felpham* are pronounced locally with (*f*).

2. O.E. medial ɣ (back-open-voiced) > ɣ^w > *w*. O.E. *Burgæsc* > M.E. *Burɣ^{w}ash* > *Burwash* (= bariʃ), the *-w-* being lost into the unstressed syllable.

3. The interchange of *-l-* and *-r-* is considered by Zachrisson to be due to the influence of Norman-French, but it is surely

fairly common in all languages. Examples in Sussex are O.E. *Æþelantūn* or *Æþelwinetūn* > mod. *Atherington*; in the early forms of *Falmer* and *Keymer* (q.v. below), *Fallemella* and *Kiemella* appear (1107–18). See also remarks under *Walberton* and *Warbleton* in Pt I.

4. Zachrisson also considers the interchange of *t* and *d* to be N.-Fr. In Sussex *Chidham* < O.E. **Cedd-*; under the early forms of the (linguistically) allied *Chiddingley* are three with *-t-*, while O.E. **Ceddanhyrst* is *Chithurst* to-day. *Tottingworth* has a form *Toddyngworth* in 1309.

5. The change of O.E. *-þ-* > *-ð-* > *-d-* is seemingly not entirely determined by the neighbouring sounds, although it is fairly common in the neighbourhood of *-l-* and *-r-*. Cf. O.E. *morþor* > *murder*; O.E. *byrðen* > *burden*; O.E. *Sulþorn* > *Souldern* (Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns.). The Sussex example is *Hadlow* < O.E. **hæþlēāh* (with change of suffix).

6. The unfronting of O.E. *ċġ*, *ċċ* to *g* and *k* is likewise partly an isolative change, although here again it is common before certain sounds, such as *n*, *l*, *r*. See Wyld, Contributions to the History of the English Gutturals (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899). Modern Sussex *Bignor* < **Biċġanōfre*; *Bognor* < **Bucganōre* (which form exists in C.D.); *Beckley* < **Beċċanleah*; *Egdean* < **Ecgdenu* (*Eċġ* a pers. n. or *eċġ* = edge, ridge).

(ϵ) *Combinative Changes.*

Loss of consonants in combination.

(*a*) *Loss of interconsonantal -h-*; O.E. **Beorganstede* > M.E. *Berhstede* > *Bersted*; O.E. *burhtūn* > *Burton*; O.E. *Ēādburhtūn* > *Edburton*; O.E. **rūhsperre* > M.E. *rūhsper* (1325 *Rousparre*, 1549 *Roughsparre*) > *Rusper*; O.E. **Torhtantūn* > *Tortantūn* > *Tortington*.

(*b*) *Loss of (-w-) in the unstressed element.* Although the *w* is generally retained in the spelling, it is seldom heard in the local pronunciation of the name. Well-known examples are *Norwich* (= noridž), *Southwark* (= saðək), *Woolwich* (= wulidž), etc. In Sussex O.E. *Bōtwulfes* > *Botolphs* or *Buttolphs* where

the *-w-* has even disappeared in the spelling. See also *Berwick* and *Southwick* (saðik) below.

(*c*) *Simplification of consonant-groups.*

-ldk- > -lk- O.E. **Bealdcumb* > *Balcombe* (bɔ̄kəm).
-ldb- > -lb- O.E. **Ealdburna* > *Albourne.*
-lhb- > -lb- O.E. **Ealhburna* > *Albourne* (?).
-lfm- > -lm- O.E. **Ælfmōdantūn* > *Almodington.*
-lfs- > -ls- O.E. **Ælfsigestūn* > *Alciston.*
-lɣn- > -ln- M.E. **Hălɣnaker* > *Halnaker.*
-lnst- > -lst- O.E. **Ælfwinesstede* > M.E. *Elnes(s)tede* > *Elstead* (Type I).
-lvst- > -lst- O.E. **Ælfesstede* > M.E. *Elves(s)tede* > *Elstead* (Type II).
-kst- > -st- O.E. **Ælfricestūn* > *Alfriston.*
-rþw- > -rw- O.E. *norþwudu* > M.E. *Northwode* > *Norwood.*
-st(ə)t- > -st- O.E. **þrēōstatūn* > M.E. *Prest(i)tun* > *Preston.*
-þst- > -st- O.E. **Friþestūn* > *Friston.*

(*d*) A similar phenomenon is the complete loss of whole syllables for which see γ (3) above.

(*e*) *Assimilation.* It is not always easy to draw the line between assimilation and loss of consonants in combinations. In all cases the double assimilated consonant is shortened in mod. Engl. Sussex examples are:

-ht- > -tt- O.E. **hēhtūn* > **hĕhtŭn* > *Hettun* (1320), early forms of *Heighton* (Type I).
O.E. **hōhtūn* > *hŏhtŭn* > *Hotton*, early forms of *Houghton.*
late O.E. **Ractūn* > *Rahtŭn* > *Rattun* (in early forms of *Racton* q.v.).
O.E. **Ohtanhām* > *ottehăm* > *Otham.*
-ln- > -un- D.B. *Helnache*, 1252. *Hannak'*, 1274. *Hannake* but also early forms *Halnaker* (< *O.E. *hālɣanæcer*) = mod. *Halnaker.*
-lvl- > -ll- O.E. **Wulflāfantūn* > M.E. *Wullavintun* > *Woolavington.*
-nl- > -ll- O.E. **Beornlāfantūn* > M.E. *Berlavintūn* > *Barlavington.*
-um- > -mm- **Lēōnmynstre* > *Lēm(m)instre* > mod. *Lyminster* (q.v.).
-nr- > -rr- O.E. **Cēnrēdeford* > M.E. *Kenredeford* > *Kerrede-* (1379 *Kerredeford*) > mod. *Kirdford.*
-þt- > -tt- O.E. *Sūþtūn* > mod. *Sutton*; *norþtūn* > *Norton.*

Cf. also M.E. *Rademeld* > mod. *Rodmell.* The second element is O.E. *-mylde*; is mod. *-mell* due to the analogy of O.E. *mylen*, "a mill," or is it assimilation of *-ld-* > *-ll-*?

(*ƒ*) By the side of the simplification of consonant-groups, by assimilation or otherwise, the groups *-mr-*, *-nr-* and *-lr-* develop into *-mbr-*, *-ndr-* and *-ldr-* respectively. This is not an "insertion" of a consonant, as those ignorant of phonetics suppose. Cf. French *je viendrai* with *venir*, *je viens*, etc., *chambre*, early O. Fr. *chamre*, Lat. *camera*. Examples in Sussex are:

1. *-mr-* > *-mbr-*. O.E. *brǣmre* > mod. *Bramber* (cf. the by-form O.E. *brǣmel*, mod. "bramble"). O.E. **Eamherelēāh* > M.E. *Amberlei* and *Aumberlei* > mod. *Amberley*; O.E. **Eomǣr(es)horn* > M.E. *Emberhorne* > mod. *Imberhorne* (raising of *e* to *i*, see Phonology (*β*) 7 above).

2. *-nr-* > *-ndr-*. O.E. **alratūn*, D.B. *Eldritūne*, 1278 *Aldryngton* > *Aldrington* (but this name may contain O.E. *Ealdhere*, see Pt 1 below), O.E. **Beanheretūn* > *Bĕn(e)retun* > 1233 *Bendriton* > mod. *Binderton*.

(*g*) *Metathesis.* (1) *r- metathesis.* O.E. **bridham* > M.E. *Bridham* > mod. *Birdham*. Cf. the independent word *bird*; O.E. **Wealdanærn* > M.E. *Waldern* > mod. *Waldron*. (2) *l- metathesis.* Mod. *Milton* < **Mildeton* < **Mideltun* < O.E. **middeltūn*. So Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., pp. 98–99, but for another explanation of the Sussex name, see Pt 1 below.

(*η*) *Inflexion and Word-formation.*

(*a*) *The suffix of the genitive singular.* See Alexander's article in the Modern Language Review, VII. pp. 65 ff.

1. The following names have no genitive suffix in the earliest forms. This seems specially to be the case with names in *-here* and *-wine*. *Amberley* (683? *Amberla*, 957 *Amberle*, D.B. *Ambrelie* < O.E. **Eamherelēāh*); *Binderton* (M.E. *Bendriton* < O.E. **Bēānheretūn*); *Goodwood* (M.E. *Godnewude* < O.E. **Gōdwinewudu*); *Imberhorne* < O.E. **Ēōmǣrhorn, -hyrne*; *Kirdford* (1379 *Kerredeford* < earlier M.E. *Kĕnredeford* < O.E. **Cēnrēdeford*); *Walderton* (D.B. *Waldere* 1167 and passim, *Walderton* < O.E. **Wealdheretūn*); *Wod-*, *Woodmancote* (D.B. *Odemancote* < O.E. **Wudumancote*).

2. A strong *-es-* is substituted for a weak *-an-* in *Avisford* < M.E. *Avesford* < O.E. **Afesford* for **Afan-*.

3. A weak *-an-* replaces a strong *-es-* in *Almodington* < O.E. **Ælfmōdantūn*; *Barlavington, Barlton* < O.E. **Beornlāfantūn*; and *Woolavington* < O.E. **Wulflāfantūn*. See all these names, and also *Lavington,* in Pt I below.

(*b*) *The particle -ing-*. This has also been investigated by Alexander, in Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, vol. ii. (1911), pp. 158 ff. The medial *-ing-* may be: (1) Seldom the O.E. patronymic suffix, but certainly such in *Beddingham* and *Washington* (q.v. below). (2) Most often the O.E. weak genitive suffix *-an-* > M.E. *-in-*. O.E. **Bebbantūn* > *Bebbiu-* > *Bebing-*, mod. *Bebyngton*; O.E. **Dallantūn* > *Dallington*; O.E. **Wernan(ge)lād* > *Warninglid*. Examples are very common in the names under Part I below. (3) The O.E. adjective suffix *-en-*, *-egn-* as in Lancs. *Haslingden* < O.E. **hæslenden* (cit. Wyld) and Sussex *Hollington* < O.E. **holegntūn*. (4) The O.E. pers. n. suffix *-wine* as in *Jevington* < **Gefwinetun*. Or *Jevington* may equally well be derived from a form *Gefan-* where *Gefa* is a shortened form of the above *Gefwine*. For the examples of *-ing-* in Sussex, see the Index of Separate Elements in Pt II below.

(*c*) *Substitution of one suffix for another*. See Walker's article in E. St. 48, Heft 1. It frequently happens that a mod. pl.-n. has a different suffix from that which it shows in its early forms, owing to confusion between certain similar elements. This was very likely to happen in the unstressed second part of the compound, especially between such pairs as O.E. *-dūn* and *-denu* which appear in M.E. as *-don* and *-den*, probably both pronounced (-dən). Indeed almost all names in *-den* and *-dean* have a *-don* amongst their early forms, and vice versa. Some Sussex examples of this interchange are (1) O.E. *berg* and *burh* (*burg*). Modern *Pulborough* and *Swanborough*, both with *-bergh, -berwe* in the early forms, but seldom *-burgh*. Also 1411–2 *Wisebergh*, 1409 *Wysbergh*, modern *Wyseberg* and *Wisborough Green*. (2) O.E. *-camp* and *-k* + *ham*(*m*). Mod. *Barcombe* with earlier types, I. *Berkham*(*m*) < **beorchamm*,

II. *Bercamp*, a new suffix from an imagined etymology such as **Beorncamp*, III. *Bercombe*. The pronunciation of all three types was in M.E. the same, the official spelling of the modern name is of course that of III. Also *Warningcamp*, which is probably O.E. **Wernancamp* < **Wyrnan-*, but which may also be **Wernecanhamm* (or *-hām*) > M.E. *Wernecamp* as in the early forms noted below. (3) Mod. *-den* (*-dene*, *-dean*) and *-don*. This is the commonest example in Sussex. I note some here; see also Pts I and II below. 1278 *Egedene*, 1539 *Eggedean*, 1279 *Egedon* = *Egdean*; mod. *Findon*, early forms in *-don* and *Findene* once in 1280; mod. *Marden* has several early spellings like *Meredon*; for *Standean* we have D.B. *Standene* and two other forms in *-dene* but 1253, 1409 *Standon*; D.B. *Playdene*, other forms in *-den* and *-don*, mod. *Playden*, etc.

4. *-don* also sometimes alternates with *-ton*, cf. M.E. *Fontin-* and *Funtinton*, 1330 *Fontyngdon* = mod. *Funtington*, also modern *Willingdon* for which we find usually types like *Wylindon*, but also 1248 *Wilenden*, *Wylinden* and 1633–4 *Willington*.

5. O.E. *-feld* and *-fald* is also fairly common; cf. 1287 *Ashfelde* = *Ashfold*.

6. O.E. *lēāh*, *lǣh*, *lēāge* often interchanges with other elements, for instance *-lei*, *-low*; *-lei*, *-hill*; *-lei*, *-lake* (O.E. *lacu*), etc. Cf. D.B. *Baldeslei*, *Badeslei*, 1274 *Baldeslowe*, 1316 *-lawe* = *Baldslow*, 1253 *Hadlegh*, 1409 *Hadleg*, mod. *Hadlow Down*; O.E. **byxalēāh* (mod. *Bexhill*) > Type I *Bixele*, *Bexele*, Type II *Buxhull*, *Bexhill*, *Bixhelle*, etc.; O.E. **scēplēāh* > M.E. *Schiplee*, *Sheplei* (Type I), cf. Type II *Schiplake*, *Shepelake* = mod. *Shipley*. See also remarks on *Fairlight* in Pt I below.

7. O.E. *-mere*, *gemǣru*, **gemāre* (unmutated < W. Gmc. **ga-mair-*), *mōr*. With names in *-mere* and *-more* it is often difficult to tell what the second element really is. At any rate the interchange of *-mere*, *-more* is frequent. Cf. 1294 *Bromere*, 1439 *Brommore* (< **brōm*(*ge*)*mǣru*, *-māre*, or **brōmmere*, *-mōr*), mod. *Broomer's Green*, also *Udimore* with all its early forms in *-mere*.

8. The M.E. spelling *-ston*(*e*), in default of evidence from O.E., may be sometimes referred to *stān*, sometimes to *-es* + *tūn*.

Sussex *Hunston* is definitely O.E. **Hunesstān*, as the early forms prove, but *Bishopstone* may be either O.E. **biscopesstān* or **biscopestūn*. See both names below.

9. A suffix has completely disappeared in the modern *Monks*, which is 1316 *Moneksy*, 1317 *Monekeseye*, and in *Rye* which is *Rieberge* in D.B.

(*θ*) *Foreign Influence.*

1. *Norse influence* is hardly possible in Sussex, but there are two or three older forms which would seem to point to it. The pers. n. *Hæsten* seen in mod. *Hastings* was certainly the name of a Danish chief, but it may also have been an Engl. name, since *Hæsten*, *Hasten* appears in an O.E. pl.-n. from C.D. (see *Hastings* below). Again there never appears in Sussex a modern *-yett*, *-it*, or *-itt* < O.E. *ġeat*, but only the form *gate*, which may either be from the O.E. plural type *gatu*, *gatum*, or from the O.N. *gata*, which however meant "thoroughfare," "path," a meaning not known in the case of the O.E. word. Since these *-gate* forms first appear in M.E. times, it is just possible that they are derived from the Scand. word, or that their meaning has been influenced by it. There is, however, no *definite* indication of Scandinavian influence in Sussex names, but see remarks under *Tangmere* below.

2. *Norman-French influence.* The standard authority is of course Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names, Lund 1907). Sussex names do not show as many effects of such influence as might be expected from the geographical position of the county. The following characteristics are certainly Anglo-French :—(1) Alternation of *-ling* and *-ning* in the early forms of *Ditchling*, q.v. (Z., p. 140, considers this an actual sound-change, not a mere variation in spelling). (2) Substitution of (*s*) for English (*tʃ*) as in *Cissbury Hill* (< O.E. **Cissanbyrig*, cf. *Chichester* and its early forms below) initially, medially in *Lancing* < O.E. **Wlancing* < *Wlencing*, and *Ticehurst* < O.E. *ticcenhyrst*. (3) Substitution of (*s*) for Engl. (*ʃ*) medially, as in *Maresfield* and *Merston* (< O.E. **mersċfeld*, **mersetūn*). The English type survives in *Marsham* (māʃəm) < O.E. **merschām*.

See all these names below. (4) Certain names are purely French, e.g. *Beachy Head* (< *bel-chef*, the spelling being affected by the M.E. *beach*), *Beauport*, *Bewbush* (< *beau-buisson*), *Broyle*. The common combination of an Engl. pl.-n. with a French family name is seen in *Herst-* or *Hurstmonceux* and *Horsted Keynes* (q.v. below). (5) Certain French words appear as elements in Sussex pl.-ns., as *-boys*, "wood," *-ett(e)* (diminutive suffix), *bel-*, *-beu*, and *beau*. Also *port*, if of Romance origin, but this was already a loan-word in O.E.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE CHIEF CONTRACTIONS USED.

(The letters refer to the sections of the Bibliography, the small Roman number to the sub-section, and the Arabic figure to the number against the document in that section.)

Abbr. Plac. A ii. 14.
Altd. Nbch. E 1.
Anc. Ch. A ii. 6.
A.-S. Chron. A ii. 3.
Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls. A ii. 22.
B.-T. F 2.
Cal. Ch. Rolls. A ii. 17.
Cal. Inq. ad quod D. A ii. 19.
Cal. Inq. P.M. A ii. 20.
Cal. Rot. Ch. A ii. 18.
Camden's Britt. A ii. 25.
Cart. Sax. A ii. 2.
Cat. Anc. Dds. A ii. 21.
C.D. A ii. 1.
Ch. Du. Lancs. A ii. 15.
Cl. Rolls of Hen. III. A ii. 7 and 8.
Cowfold Accs. A i. 9.
Cust. B. Abbey. A i. 2.
Cust. of Pevensey. A i. 4.
D.B. A ii. 4.
Dipl. Angl. B 5.
Docs. Lewes Pr. A i. 7.
Early Stat. Chichr. A i. 1.
E.D.D. F 8.
Etym. Dict. F 6.
Exch. Red Bk. A ii. 28.
F.A. v. A ii. 13.
Fr. Ch. A ii. 26.
H.R. ii. A ii. 10.
Ind. Ch. and Rolls. A ii. 23.
Introd. to D.B. C 2.
J. of G.'s Reg. A ii. 16.
Leland's Itin. A ii. 24.
Lewes Subs. Roll. A i. 3.
Malling Surv. A i. 6.
Pat. Rolls Hen. III. A ii. 9.
Pipe Rolls. A ii. 5.
Plac. de quo War. A ii. 11.
Subs. Roll Hen. IV. A i. 8.
Sw. A.-S. Dict. F 7.
Tax. Eccl. A ii. 27.
T. N., T. de N., Testa de N. A ii. 12.
Vist. Ssx. A i. 10.

< comes from; is derived from.
> develops into.
* denotes a hypothetical or reconstructed form.

TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS[1].

Vowels.

i	as in	bi't, pi'll, ri'd.
ɛ	„	bet, red.
æ	„	cat, fallow.
ī	„	seed, feed, plead.
ē	„	*German* nehmen, leben.
a	„	but, *run.*
ɑ̄	„	father, card.
u	„	put, pull.
o	„	hot, cot, shod.
ū	„	boot, root.
ō	„	*German* bohne, so.
ɔ̄	„	saw, cord, law.
ʌ̄	„	bird, heard, word.
ə	„	about, father.
ai	„	fire, choir, lie.
ei	„	pay, day.
au	„	house, loud.
ou	„	bone, home.
oi	„	boy.

Consonants.

t	as in	tear, pet.
d	„	dear, red.
þ	„	thin, thorn.
ð	„	then, there.
n	„	nose, bone.
l	„	lie, loud, bull.
r	„	round, rash.
s	„	sin, sigh.
z	„	zeal, raise.
ʃ	„	ship, shot.
ž	„	azure, pleasure.
j	„	yet, young.
p	„	pin, post.
b	„	bend, boast.
f	„	fat, laughter.
v	„	vent, vaunt.
w	„	will, woe.
ʍ	„	wheel, when (=voiceless *w.*)
m	„	men, mar.
k	„	king, cat.
g	„	guest, gone.
ŋ	„	sing, long, tongue.
h	„	host, hill.

[1] Phonetic script is enclosed in round brackets, thus:—Keymer (=kɑimə).

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17. *Calendar of Charter Rolls.* Vols. i. and ii. (Deputy Keeper of Records), 1903 and 1906.	(Cal. Ch. Rolls.) *cit.* date, vol. and p.
18. *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum.* Record Commission 1803. The same volume contains :—	(Cal. Rot. Ch.) *cit.* date and p.
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PART I

Adsdean.

1314 Addesdene, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 240.

O.E. *denu*, a dene, valley. The first element is probably a pers. n. Cf. *Adda* in Bede iii. 21, p. 170, and also *Æddi* (ibid. iv. 2, p. 205). The latter is more likely, since *Adda* would normally have a weak genitive.

Albourne.

1294 Aleburn, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 127.
1316 Aleburna, F.A. v. p. 135.
circa 1320 Aleburn, T. de N. p. 222.
1400 Albourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 273.
1456 Albourne, ibid. iv. p. 273.

The *Al-*, *Ale-* in the above forms probably represent an O.E. pers. n. *Ealh-*. Cf. *Ealhmund*, *Ealhnōþ*, etc. in Searle. For O.E. *burna*, "stream," see Pt II. Possibly also the first element might be O.E. *eald*, "old," or *Eald* as a pers. n., but in this case one would expect some early spellings in *Aldb-*. For O.E. *Ealhmund* see also Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., under *Almondbury*.

Alciston.

1085 Alchitone? D.B. i. 19 b.
Alsistone, D.B. i. 17 b.
Alsitone, D.B. i. 19 a.
temp. Edw. I Alsistun, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 33.
circa 1320 Alsiestun, T. de N. p. 227.
1340 Alsiston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 97.

"Ælfsige's tūn," O.E. *Ælfsigestūn*. The name *Ælfsige* is well authenticated; see Searle. Cf. Duignan's remarks, Worcs.

Pl.-Ns., on the *Alston* in that county. The T. de N. forms *Alsiestun* is the M.E. precursor of the modern pronunciation (ælsistən).

Aldingbourne.

683! Aldingburne, C.D. v. p. 33.
880–5 Ealdingburnan, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Aldingeborne, D.B. i. 16 b.
1226, 1230 Aldingburne, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 34, 47.
1274 Aldingburn, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1278 Aldingburne, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1334 Aldyngbourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 63.

Probably O.E. *Ealdinga burna*, "the brook, stream of the Ealdings." The *Ealdings* themselves are not directly mentioned by Searle, but there are columns of names in *Eald*, such as *Ealdbeorht*, *Ealdhelm*, etc. *Ealda* is the name of a witness to a Charter, Cart. Sax. No. 197. See O.E. *burna* in Pt II.

Aldrington.

1085 Eldretun, D.B. i. 26 b. }
Eldritune H., D.B. i. 28 b. }
1121 Aldrinctona, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1278 Adryngton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1298 Alrington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 149.
1386 Aldrington, ibid. iii. p. 83.
1450 Aldryngton, ibid. iv. p. 247.

Probably "the *tūn* of the alder-trees," O.E. *alratūn* > M.E. *aldritun*. The *-ing-* in the above forms and in the modern name is probably due to the analogy of some name containing medial *-ing-* such as *Aldingbourne*. For the second element see O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.

Cf. *Allerton* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and *Alderton*, Wilts., for which the Ind. Ch. and Rolls gives early forms: 1535 *Aldrin-*, *Aldryntone*; 1536 *Aldryngton*, and 1675 *Aldrington*.

Or possibly the above name contains the O.E. pers. n. *Ealdhere* (or the gen. plur. of the patronymic *Ealdheringa-*).

Aldsworth.

1397 Aldesworth, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 227.
1477 Allysworth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 9.

O.E. *Ealdesweorþ*, "the 'worth' or farm of Eald." *Eald* is probably shortened from such pers. ns. as *Ealdhelm*, *Ealdwine*, etc. *-weorþ* = "farm"; see Pt II.

Aldwick.

1291 Aldewyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 108.

Simply O.E. *eald wīc*, "the old house." O.E. *wīc* always appears in Sussex as *-wick* or *-wyke* (wik) or (waik). On this point see remarks on the element in Pt II.

Aldworth.

1296 Aldingworth, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 135.

The form *Aldingworth* above seems to point to an O.E. **Ealdanweorþ*, *Ealda* being a pers. n., discussed under *Aldingbourne*. But the modern form presupposes O.E. **ealdworth* > M.E. *ăldworth* either (1) "the old farmstead," or (2) "the farmstead of Eald(a)," the genitive suffix *-an-* of *Ealdan-* being lost in late O.E. Either is equally probable.

Alfriston.

Type I.

1085 Alvricestone, D.B. i. 21 b.
1136 Alfrichestunam, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 512.
temp. Edw. I Alurichtun, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 33.
1295 Alfricheston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 127.
1309 Alfricheston, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 226.
circa 1320 Alfricheston, T. de N. p. 223.
1336 Alvericheston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 72.
1404–5 Alfrisheton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 196.
1428 Alfryston, F.A. v. p. 148.
1588 Alfriston, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 10.

Type II.

1314 Alfretheston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.

O.E. *Ælfrices tūn*. *ċ* (= M.E. tʃ) is lost before *-st*. See Phonology above. Type II shows confusion of the first element with another O.E. pers. n., possibly *Ælfrēd*.

Almodington.

13th cent. Almodentone, Exch. Red Bk. vol. i. p. 200.
1386 Almodyton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 84.
1421 Almoditon, ibid. iv. p. 64.
1501 Almodyton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 11.

"The *tūn* of Ælfmōd." Grueber (Cat. of English coins in the British Museum) gives *Ælfmōd* or *Elemōd* as an O.E. pers. n. (see Searle, Onomast. p. 14).

The name must have had a weak genitive *Ælfmōdan* instead of the strong **Ælfmōdes*, hence O.E. *Ælfmōdantūn* > *Almodington*.

Amberley.

Type I.

683! Amberla (Latin), C.D. v. p. 33.
957 Amberle, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1085 Ambrelie, D.B. i. 17 a.
1226 Amberl', Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
1278 Amberlegh } Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
Amberley }

Type II.

1274 Aumberley, H.R. ii. p. 215.
1278 Aumberly, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

Searle records a pers. n. **Eamhere*, for which he gives two examples—*Eamer* from a coin of Æthelred II, and *Eammer* (c. 1045), the name of a landowner from C.D. No. 912.

O.E. **Eamhere lēāh* > late O.E. **ēmerelēh* > M.E. *ambrelei*. The genitive suffix was often omitted with pers. ns. in *-here*; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Phonology. If this etymology be true, the C.D. forms must have been copied from some M.E. document, since we could hardly have an intrusive *-b-* so early. Type II shows the common M.E. (Norman-Fr.) diphthongising of *a-* to *au-* before nasals. Cf. Chaucerian forms like *launce*, *commaunde*, etc. See O.E. *lēāh* in Pt II.

Ancton, Ankton.

1085 Antone? D.B. i. 25 b.
1274 Aniggedon? H.R. ii. p. 202.

Angmering, East and West.

880–5 Angemæringtún, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Angemare, D.B. i. 24 b.
1274 Angemeryng', H.R. ii. p. 214.
1288 Westangemare, Abbr. Plac. p. 218.
1291 Angemerynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 109.
circa 1320 Angemere, T. de N. p. 222.
1383–4 Estangmering, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 190.
1545 Westangmeryng, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 165.

The C.D. form above explains this name as the *tūn* of the *Angemæringas*. No other authority exists for the O.E. *Angemær*; Searle quotes it as "local," from the evidence of this Sussex pl.-n. The ending *-tūn* has been lost in the modern name, and already before 1085.

It is possible also that the name was really O.E. *Angemæring-tūn*, i.e. "the *tūn* by the meadow (O.E. *ing*) of Angemær." In this case the *tūn* may have been dropped as a third and superfluous element. But the O.E. *tūn* generally occurred in conjunction with a personal name, and this seems rather to favour the first explanation. See O.E. *ing*, *incg* and *tūn* in Pt II.

For similar instances of pl.-ns. compounded with three elements cf. *Ashburnham* below, *Berkhampstead* (Hants.), *Ashampstead* (Berks.), *Ashleyhay* and *Alderwasley* (Derby).

Appledram or Apuldram.

1085 Aplesham? D.B. i. 28 b.
1126–33 Apeldrehā, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 15, p. 27.
1274 Apeldreham, H.R. ii. p. 212.
temp. Edw. I Apeldreham, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 53.
1357 Apeldreham, Trans. Lat. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxvi. p. 177.
1411–2 Apuldresham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.

O.E. *apulrahām* or *apuldrahām*, "the homestead of the apple-trees."

Ardingley (ǽdiŋli) and (ærdiŋlài).

Type I.

1107–18 erdingelega, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 5, p. 4.
1253 Ardingleg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1278 Herdingelegh, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1284 Erdingley, Abbr. Plac. p. 208.
1409 Ardingeleg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1441 Erthynglegh, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 18.

Type II.?

1213 Erdinton, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
circa 1320 Erdinton, Erdenton } T. de N. pp. 222–23.

The medial *-e-* in the 1278 and 1409 spellings in Type I above suggests an O.E. patronymic, in the gen. plur.—such a name as *Eardinga*—"of the sons of Earda." *Earda* would be a shortened form of one of the many names beginning with *Eard-*, of which perhaps *Eardwine* is the most common. Skeat explains the Herts. *Ardeley* as **Eardanlēah*. See O.E. *lēah* in Pt II.

If Type II represents the same name, it shows an exchange of O.E. *-tūn* for O.E. *lēah*.

Arlington.

1085 Herlintone, D.B. i. 19 a.
1302–3 Erlynton, F.A. v. p. 132.
1306 Erlington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 225.
1316 Erlington, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 253.
1318 Erlington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 153.
1331 Erlinton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 45.

O.E. *Eorlan tūn*, "the *tūn* of *Eorla*." *Eorla* is a short form of some pers. n. beginning with *Eorl-* such as *Eorlbeald*, *Eorlwine*, etc., for which Searle gives good authority. The initial *H-* in the D.B. form is a Norman-French scribal peculiarity, and means nothing. See *Hailsham* below.

Arundel.

1085 Arundel Rap', D.B. i. 28 a. }
Harundel Rap', D.B. i. 17 a. }
1160–1 Arundel, Pipe Rolls, vol. ii. p. 55.
1200 Arundell, Abbr. Plac. p. 26.
1230 Arundell, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 403.
1252 Arundel, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 12.
1264 Arundell, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 92.
1274 Arundel, H.R. ii. pp. 209, 214.
1278 Arundel, Arundell, Plac. de quo War. p. 751.
circa 1320 Arundell, T. de N. p. 222.
14th c. Arundell, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 150.
1421 Arundel, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 377.

Simply "the dell on the Arun," a river in Sussex. This is the only example of the element *dell* in Sussex. It represents an O.E. **dell* from **dalja* (cf. O.E. *dæl*, "a dale"). But for the *-ll* in the above forms the second element might represent an unstressed form of O.E. *dæl*. There are no *-dales* in modern Sussex.

See O.E. *dell* in Pt II.

Ashburnham (ɛʃbrəm).

11th century? Ashbornhamo (Latin ablative), C.D. iv. p. 268.
1085 Esseborne, D.B. i. 18 a.
1274 Esseburn Vill., Essheburn Di' H', H.R. ii. p. 212.
1275 Ashburnham, Hasseburnham, Abbr. Plac. p. 188.
1278 Esseburnham, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1319 Ashburnham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1328 Ashburnham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 160.
1329 Asshburnham, Ashburnham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 291.
1341 Ashbournham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 100.
1633–4 Ashbornham, Vist. Ssx. p. 68.

O.E. *æscburnahām*, "the homestead by Ash's stream." Or possibly *æsc* may be here the name of the tree. The modern pronunciation (ɛʃbrəm), given by Hope, is just what one should expect the O.E. *æscburn(a)hām* to become in Sussex.

See O.E. *æsc*, *burna*, and *hām* in Pt II.

Ashdown Forest.

1234 Essendon, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1231–4), pp. 461, 485.
1275 Ashedon forest, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 58.
1293 Ashetdown, ibid. p. 122.
1325 Asshedonne, ibid. p. 328.
1372 Asshedon, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 12.
1407 Ashdonne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 320.
1545 Ashdown, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 45, p. 354.

Æsca is probably a pers. n. The second element is O.E. *dūn*, "a down, hill" (q.v. Pt II). Skeat (Berks. Pl.-Ns.) takes *Æsc* to be a pers. n. in the *Ashdown* in that county. The name occurs in the A.S. Chron. annis 648, 661, 871. Cf. *Ashington* below.

Ashfold.

1287 Ashfelde, Abbr. Plac. p. 215.

Æsc may be here the name of the tree, but the absence of the genitive suffix does not necessarily exclude the pers. n. O.E. *-fald* and *-feld* are frequently confused as second elements. Cf. *Cowfold* below.

Ashington.

1073 Essingetona, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Eschintone, D.B. i. 19 b.
1473–4 Asheyngton, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 317.
1633–4 Ashengton, Vist. Ssx. p. 71.

O.E. *Æscantūn*, "Æsca's tūn." *Æsca* is well authenticated in O.E. It occurs for instance in C.D. Nos. 287, 295 and Cart. Sax. Nos. 506, 518.

Ashling, East and West.

1451 Estasshelyng, Westasshelyng } Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 253.

The above forms differ very little from the modern. Probably *Ashling* is O.E. **Æscelingas*, "descendants of Æscele." **Æscele* is a diminutive of the common pers. n. *Æsc*, formed from it by the addition of the suffix *-el(e)*, *-ol*. For other O.E. diminutives in Sussex pl.-ns. see *Brightling* and *Duncton* below.

Ashurst and Ashurstwood.

1165–6 Esseherst, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 89.
1287 Hessehurst, Abbr. Plac. p. 214.
1426 Asshurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 109.
1448 Asshehurst, ibid. p. 238.

O.E. *æschyrst*, "the ash wood." *æsc* is here probably the name of the tree. See O.E. *hyrst* in Pt II.

Atherington.

1274 Atherinton, H.R. ii. p. 214.
1315 Atheryngton, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. B 166, p. 232.
1349 Atheryngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 162.
1695 Ederington, Camden's Britt. p. 173.

The first element is possibly an O.E. *Æþela*, shortened from one of the numerous names in *Æþel-*, for which see Searle. Hence O.E. *Æþelantun* > M.E. *Athelington*, wherein the substitution of *-r-* for *-l-* may be a sign of Norman-French influence (Zachrisson, p. 142).

Or perhaps the first element may be the common O.E. pers. n. *Æþelwine*, with loss of *-w-* in M.E. and change of *-ine* to *-ing*. See remarks on *-ing* in Pt II.

Avisford.

1165–6 Avesfordhdr, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1301 Avesford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
1331 Avesforde, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. B 125, p. 228.
1337 Avesford, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 173.
1361 Avesford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 243.
1418 Anesforth? ibid. iv. p. 38.

The first element is a pers. n. There is an *Afa* mentioned in Kemble C.D. No. 1313 (circa 1017), and another of the same name was a witness to a charter in Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 1248 (circa 970). The second element is O.E. *ford*, "a ford." Normally the genitive of *Afa* would be *Afan*, but the strong type *Afes* has persisted, and given rise to the modern *Avisford*. If we may take the 1418 form above seriously, the second element shows substitution of the O. Norse *fjorðr* for O.E. *ford*.

See O.E. *ford* in Pt II.

A *-v-* (< O.E. -f-) between vowels does not normally disappear in Sussex. Cf. the names *Barlavington*, *Woolavington*, *Lavington*, *Bevendean*, *Ovingdean*, and see Wright's E. D. Gr. p. 227.

Babintone, Bebyngton, Bepton.

Type I.

1085 Babintone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1278 Babington, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

Type II.

1281 Bebington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 73.
1329, 1404 Bebyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 22 ; vol. iii. p. 299.

Type III.

1307 Bebiton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 228.
1357 Bebiton, ibid. ii. p. 202.
1428 Bebeton, F.A. v. p. 156.
temp. Hen. VI Bebeton, Tax. Eccl. p. 134.
1490 Bebeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 402.

"The *tūn* of Babba (or Bæbba?)," O.E. *Babbantūn*. Searle gives *Babba* as a "mon," and as the first element of a pl.-n. in *Babbanbeorh* from C.D. Nos. 389, 623. Neither Searle nor Birch (Cart. Sax. vol. iv. Index of Pers. Ns.) cites the form **Bæbba*, but it may have existed side by side with the commoner *Babba* ; and, compounded with O.E. *tūn*, would have given rise to Types II and III (O.E. *Bebbantūn* and *Bebbatūn*, with the Kt. or Southern *e* for Pr. O.E. *æ*).

The first element of Types II and III might further be derived from an O.E. *Bebba*, mentioned by Bede as the name of the queen of Bernicia in 593–617 (Eccl. Hist. Bk. iii. § 6, p. 138, in Plummer's Ed.).

In any case Type I represents O.E. *Babbantūn* > *Babbintun* > *Babington* (= bæbintən *or* bæbiŋtən). The modern *Babintone* is a survival of the D.B. spelling. Type II is late O.E. *Bebbantūn*, and Type III is from a form without a genitive suffix, *Bebbatūn* (or **Bæbbatūn*), the development of the name being *Bebbatūn* > *Bebiton* or *Bebeton* > *Bebton* > *Bepton*, the second *-b-* being naturally unvoiced before the following *-t-*.

Balcombe.

Type I.

1121 balecumba, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1274 Balecumb, H.R. ii. p. 210.
1278 Balecumbe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1284–5 Baldcomb, F.A. v. p. 129.

Type II.

1273 Baycumbe (?), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 105.

Type III.

1633–4 Bawcomb, Vist. Ssx. p. 88.

The second element is O.E. *comb*, *cumb*, "a hollow," "valley"; cf. Pt II.

The first element may be O.E. *bǣl*, "a flame, fire of funeral pyre," but a funeral pyre was more likely to be burnt on a hill-top than in a valley.

The F.A. form in Type I suggests confusion with a pers. n. beginning with *Bald-* (O.E. *beald-*, as in *Bealdhere*, *Bealdwine*, etc.).

Type III shows M.E. diphthongising of *a* to *au* before *-l* with subsequent loss of the *-l*. I cannot explain the diphthong *-ai-* in Type II.

Baldslow.

Type I.

1085 Baldeslei Hund', D.B. i. 18 a.
Badeslei Hund', D.B. i. 20 a.

Type II.

1274 Baldeslowe, H.R. ii. pp. 216, 218.
1316 Baldeslawe, F.A. v. p. 133.

Originally O.E. *Bealdes* or *Baldes lēah*, "the pasture-land of Bald." *Bald* is a shortened form of some name beginning with this component, like *Bealdhere*, *Bealdwine*, etc.

Searle gives more than three columns of names in *Bald-*, *Beald-*. [He also quotes *Bald* as a "nomen viri" from Förstemann, i. 202, but he quotes from the edition of 1856–72. The

second edition (1900) has *Bald*, and *Baldo*, i. 235, and place-names *Baldisheim*, *Baldingen*, *Paldinperc*, *Baldenstat* (under *Bald* and *Baldo*).]

Type II shows a change of suffix from O.E. *lēāh* to O.E. *hlǣw* (= tumulus, burial-ground). The latter suffix becomes a modern *-law* or *-low* (lō *or* lou), according to its derivation from O.E. *hlāw* and O.E. *hlā* respectively. Both these forms are illustrated in Type II above. Cf. the name *Cudlawe* or *Cudlow* below: see also *Lowfield Heath*. For the interchange of *-low* and *-ley* see also Wyld's remarks and the forms cited under *Osmotherley* in Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

The D.B. form, No. 2 above, may be a mere spelling variation for *Baldeslei* or it may indicate a real loss of *-l*. See Zachrisson, p. 148, under *B.*

Barcombe.

Type I.

1085 Berchā, Bercham, D.B. i. 27 a, 27 b.
1121 berchā, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
temp. John, Bercham, Abbr. Plac. p. 95.
1361 Berkhamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 232.
1386 Berkhame, ibid. iii. p. 83.
1411–2 Berkham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
1446 Berkehom, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 234.
1633–4 Barkham, Vist. Ssx. p. 10.

Type II.

1202 Bercamp, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1253 Bercamp, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1274 Berecomp, Bercomp } H.R. ii. p. 210.
1278 Berecompe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Bercomp, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 302.
1397 Bercompe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 217.
1408 Berchamp, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1446 Bercomp, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 234.

Type III.

1289 Bercombe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 102.

The original form was probably O.E. *beorc hām* or *beorc-hamm*, as suggested by Type I above. O.E. *beorc* is another form of *birċe*, "a birch tree," and corresponds etymologically to the modern "bark" (O.E. *beorc* < Gmc. **berka*; O.E. *birce* < Gmc. **berki*). The *-hamm* and *-hom* spellings in 1361 and 1446 (Type I) above suggest that the second element was originally O.E. *hamm*, which meant (1) "a dwelling," "enclosed land," i.e. "something *hemmed* in," or (2) "the ham," "hind part of the knee," and in pl.-ns. "bend of a river." This element was indistinguishable in M.E. from O.E. *hām*, which being unstressed had become M.E. *-hăm*. (See *hamm* (1) and (2) in Pt II.)

At any rate Type I is the earliest, and represents O.E. *beorc-hām* or *beorc- hamm*.

Type II shows a different second element, O.E. *camp*, "camping-ground," which Skeat (Hunts. Pl.-Ns.) says is not English, but a loan-word direct from Latin. The forms in Type II are generally written *Bercamp* or *Berecamp*, and possibly were felt to contain the O.E. *bere*, "barley" (?). This *Bercamp* again was identical in pronunciation with *Berkham* in Type I.

Type III shows yet another second element, O.E. *cumb*, "a valley," and this type is the precursor, as far as spelling is concerned, of the modern name. All three types have regularly developed into the modern (bākm).

Barlavington, Barlton, Belton.

725 lauingtunes, C.D. v. pp. 42–3 (Kemble's identification).
1085 Berleventune, D.B. i. 23 b.
1241 Berlavintun, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1278 Berlavyntone, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
1316 Borlavyton, F.A. v. p. 143.
1354 Berlavington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 187.
1411–2 Berlavyngton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 138.

"The *tūn* of Beornlāf," O.E. **Beornlāfantūn*, with weak genitive. Searle quotes one instance of *Beornlāf* from Cart. Sax. No. 543, C.D. No. 1062; also a *Bēōrlāf* from C.D. No. 981.

The modern *Barlavington* is normally descended from this O.E. form.

Barlton seems to be derived from an O.E. **Beornlāftūn* > M.E. **Berlvtŭn*, and by simplification of the group *-rlvt-* **Berlton* and finally *Barlton*.

I cannot account phonetically for the form *Belton*. See *Lavington* and *Woolavington* below.

Barnham.

880–5 Burnhám, C.D. ii. p. 115. (Does this really represent Sussex Barnham?)
1085 Bernehā, D.B. i. 25 a.
1162 Berneham, Fr. Ch. No. 776, p. 281.
1252 Bernham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 81.
1274 Bernham, H.R. ii. p. 214; Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1301 Bernham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 175.
1322 Bernham, ibid. iv. p. 432.
1411–2 Bernham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.

The earliest form from C.D. (if Kemble's identification is correct) seems to point to an O.E. *burn(a) hām*, "the homestead by the brook." All the later forms, however, have *Bern-*, and the modern (bānəm) could not possibly develop out of O.E. *burnhām*.

The first element *bern-* may be the O.E. *bern, bere- ærn* (a "barn," properly "barley-house"), but more probably it represents a pers. n. O.E. *Beorna-*, a short form of one of the numerous names beginning with this element, like *Beornheard, Beornwulf*, etc.

Skeat takes the first element of *Cambs. Barnwell* to be the pers. n. *Beorna*.

Battle Abbey.

1122 þ mynstre æt þere Bataille, A.S. Chron. Land MS. (E), anno 1094, p. 229.
1158–9 Abbti de Bello, Pipe Rolls, vol. i. p. 60.
1200 Abbas de Bello, Abbr. Plac. p. 32.
1225 Abbas de Bello, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 506.
1269 Abbas de Bello, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 101.

1274 Batayle, H.R. ii. p. 216.
1316 Battaile, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
1331 Abbas de Bello, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 44.
1406 Abbas de Bello, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 19, p. 149.
1633–4 of Battell in Sussex, Vist. Ssx. p. 30.

Battle Abbey was founded by William the Conqueror to commemorate his victory at Hastings, and the explanation of the name is sufficiently obvious.

The various forms in *de Bello* above are of course from the Latin *bellum*, a "battle," "war," although the earliest form and the modern name contain the Norman-French *bataille*, "a battle."

Beachy Head.

1278 Beuchef, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.

Norman-French *bel ch(i)ef*, "fair promontory." N.-Fr. *Bel-* in Engl. pl.-ns. has two developments:

1. It appears as *Bel-* and is pronounced as (bel-) or (bi-), the latter being possibly due to loss of *-l-* and vowel lengthening. Cf. *Belmont* (= belmónt *or* bélmənt) and *Belvoir* (= bīvə). Luick, Anglia xvi. pp. 499 ff., explains it as due to the loss of the *u̯* in the M.E. diphth. *-eu̯-*.

2. It is diphthongised by an early (N.-Fr.) process, and appears in modern names as *Beau-*, *Beu-* (= bjū-), as in *Beaulieu* (bjūli). The name *Beauchamps* (bītʃəm) has the spelling of the second type and the pronunciation of the first.

Despite the 1278 form above, the modern (bītʃi hed) seems to be from a type *bel chef* (with loss of *l*?). The spelling seems to indicate confusion with the common "beach," helped by popular etymology. For the loss of final *f* cf. hasty, M.E. *hastif*.

See *Beauchief Abbey* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

Beckley.

880–5 Beccanlea (dative), C.D. ii. p. 115.
1167–8 de Bikelea, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 196.
1253 Becheleya, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 54.
1274 Bekele, H.R. ii. p. 217.
1292 Bekelee, Abbr. Plac. p. 230.

1303 Beckeleye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 195.
1316 Beckele, F.A. v. p. 133.
1408 Betteley, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1420 Bekle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 48.

O.E. *Beccanlēah*, "Becca's meadow." The pers. n. *Becca* is also recorded in another O.E. pl.-n. *Beccanford* (Kemble, C.D. No. 184; Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 309).

The difficulty is that O.E. *Beċċanlēah* should give a modern (betʃli). But the modern form may be explained by assuming the loss of the genitive suffix in late O.E. The name would then be O.E. **Beċċ(a)lēh*, and the *-ċċ-* would normally be simplified to *-ċ-*, and unfronted before the following *-l-*. For another example of this sound-law cf. modern dialectal *mickle* and *muckle* (from O.E. *miclum, myclum* type) with M.E. *michel, muchel* (from O.E. *micel, mycel* type).

Note the 1167 *Bikelea* above. This may contain the O.E. variant pers. n. *Bicca* (see Searle). The 1408 form *Betteley* is interesting. The change of *-kl-* to *-tl-* is common in children's speech, and occurs sporadically in Standard Engl. For instance, Shakspeare rhymes "brittle" (O.E. **bricol*, cf. *brecan*) with "fickle." (Passionate Pilgrim, Stanza 7.) Cf. also *Bricklehampton* < **Brihthelmestūn* in Duignan, Worc. Pl.-Ns., and compare it with *Brighton* below.

Beddingham.

825 Bedingehomm, C.D. v. p. 75.
880–5 Beadingahamme, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Beddinghā, D.B. i. 20 b.
1165–6 Bedingehā, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 91.
1268 Bedingham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 98.
1275 Bedingham, Abbr. Plac. p. 191.
1278 Bedingham, Bedyngham } Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1293 Bedigham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 119.
1313 Bedingham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 238.
circa 1320 Bedingeham, T. de N. p. 227.
1418 Bedingham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 34.

Probably O.E. *Beadingahamm* (as suggested by the 880–5 C.D. form, No. 2 above), the *hamm*, "enclosure," of the *Beadings* or descendants of *Beada*. *Beadă* occurs in another O.E. pl.-n. *Beadanheal* in C.D. No. 461 and Cart. Sax. No. 936. It is probably a shortened form of some name in *Beadu-*, such as *Beaduheard*, *Beaduhelm*, etc., which were common in O.E. See *hamm* in Pt II, and note that after 1085 only *-ham* is written as the second element. For *ĕ* instead of *ī* see Phonology above.

Beeding, Lower and Upper.

Type I.

880–5 Beadingum (dat.), C.D. ii. p. 115.
1073 Bedinges, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Beddinges, D.B. i. 27 b, 28 a.
Bedinges, D.B. i. 27 b.
1297, 1324 Bedinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 146, 318.
1361 Beding, ibid. ii. p. 240.

Type II.

1280 Bodinges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.

Simply O.E. *Beadingas*, "the descendants of *Beada*" (cf. preceding name). There are many place-names which seem to consist simply of an O.E. patronymic without any determinative second element.

Sometimes they end in *-ings* (i.e. *Hastings*), sometimes in *-ing* (i.e. *Goring*). Cf. also *Lancing* below, which represents an O.E. *Wlencing*.

Type II I cannot explain. If the O.E. form were *Bēādingas* it might be accounted for by shifting of stress (**Bēādingas* > **Bēādingas* > *Bōdinges*), but it seems that the quantity of the *-ea-* in O.E. *Beadingas* was short. It may, of course, be a mere scribal error.

Bersted, North and South.

680? Beorganstede, C.D. i. p. 23.
696 Berkamystede (?), C.D. i. p. 45.
988 to Beorganstedinga mearce, C.D. iii. p. 236.
1411–2 Berkstede, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.

1428 Berghstede, F.A. v. p. 171.
1576 North Barsted, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 67.

Kemble's identification of the C.D. form *Berkamystede* (No. 2 above) with the Sussex *Bersted* seems incorrect; possibly it represents *Berkhampstead* (Herts.).

I take the first element of the Sussex *Bersted* to be an O.E. *Beorga* (pers. n. = "the protector"). Searle records only one example of this name from the C.D. form, No. 1 above. He also cites continental *Beorga* and *Berga* from Piper (which Piper?) and Förstemann.

The development is O.E. **Beorganstede* > late O.E. **Bergstede* > **Berhstede* > M.E. *Berstede* by interconsonantal loss of *-h-* (q.v. under Phonology above).

See O.E. *stede* in Pt II.

Berwick.

1085 Berewice, D.B. i. 19 b.
Bervice, D.B. i. 19 b.
incerto tempore Hen. III Barewik, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1274 Berwyke, Berewike, H.R. ii. pp. 205, 208.
1291 Berewick, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 123.
Berewike, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 109.
1322, 1357 Berewyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 303, vol. ii. p. 303.
1397 Berwyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 217.
1427 Berwike, ibid. iv. p. 116.

O.E. *berewīc*, lit. "barley-place." Cf. Wyld's remarks under *berewīc* in Lanc. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, and the quotation from Vinogradoff's "Growth of the Manor" there given.

O.E. *berewīc* gives a modern *Barwick* (= bærik) in Herts. See Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., under *Barwick*. Cf. also the common *Barton* (bātn) < O.E. *beretūn*.

Bevendean.

1085 Bevedene, D.B. i. 22 b, 26 b.
incerto tempore Hen. III Benenden (= Bev-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1241 Benenden (miswritten for Bev-), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1268 Benendon (= Bev-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
about 1320 Bevenden, T. de N. p. 222, § 63, p. 224, § 68.

1411–2 Bevyngden, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.

1474 Beningden (= Bev-?), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 329.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. **Beofa*. There are three instances of *Beoba* in Cart. Sax. Chs. No. 108, 145, 211. The last two charters refer to Sussex. It is possible that this *Beoba* represents an earlier **Beofa*, the *-b-* being a survival of the older attempts to spell intervocalic -f- (= v).

If this etymology be correct O.E. **Beofandene* > M.E. **Bēvenden(e)* > *Bĕvingden* by shortening of the first stressed long vowel in a trisyllable. (See Phonology ante, and cf. *Beddingham* above.)

Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., derives *Bevington* from O.E. **Beffantūn*, but does not explain the voiced *-v-* for *-ff-*.

Bewbush.

1315 Beaubusson, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.

1325 Beaubosson, ibid. p. 284.
Beunbosson, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 327.

1361 Beanbush (= Beau-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.

1398, 1399 Beaubusson
Beaubussh } Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. pp. 256, 267.

1411–2 Beaubussh, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 138.

This is a purely French name; N.-Fr. *beaubuisson* or *beubuisson* < *bel buisson*. The first element is N.-Fr. *bel*, "bright," "beautiful"; the second N.-Fr. *buisson*, "a bush," "thicket." See *bel*, *bush* and *bois* in Pt II, and cf. *Beachy Head* above.

Bexhill-on-Sea.

Type I.

1. 1230 Bixla, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
2. 1274 Byxle, H.R. ii. pp. 215, 216, 217.
3. 1278 Bixla
4. Bixele } Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
5. 1306 Bixle, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 25.

Type II.

1. 1316 Buxle, F.A. v. p. 133.
2. 1317 Buxley, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 254.
3. 1325 Bokeshulle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.

4. 1341 Buxle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 100.
5. 1345 Boxhull, ibid. ii. p. 122.
6. 1381 Buxhull, ibid. iii. p. 36.
7. 1633–4 Boxhill, Vist. Ssx. p. 90.

Type III.

1. 1085 Bexelei, D.B. i. 18 a.
2. 1306 Bexle, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 138.
3. Bexle, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 23.

From the evidence of the three types above it would seem that the first element is O.E. **byxa*, a mutated form of O.E. *box*, "a box tree" (q.v. Pt II, and under *Boxgrove* below). The modern form is descended from the Kentish Type III above.

The second element may have been originally O.E. *lēāh*, for which O.E. *hyll* was later substituted (there are no *-hull*'s before 1325, Type II (No. 3) above).

Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 147) suggests O.E. *Becca* (cf. *Beckley* above) as the first element, but this etymology will not explain Types I and II.

Bignor.

Type I.

1085 Bigenevre, D.B. i. 25 a.
1261 Biggeneure, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 91.
1283 Bigenevere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1316 Bygenever, F.A. v. p. 142.
1340 Biggeneywre, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 176.
1397 Bygenevere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Bygenevere, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
1423 Begenever, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 81.

Type II.

1165–6 Begenoura, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1278 Bigenou, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1283 Bigenore, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 83.
1314 Biggenore, ibid. p. 262.
1397 Bygenoremille, Bignore, ibid. iii. pp. 226, 227.
1633–4 Bignore, Vist. Ssx. p. 52.

The first element would seem to be a pers. n. **Bicga*, but I can find no evidence of such a name. Searle, Onom. p. 106, gives *Biga* as a "nomen viri" from Ellis' Introd. to D.B., *Bigo* and *Bigweald* from Förstemann.

I can make nothing of the second element in Type I, unless it represents **ēfer*, a mutated form of *ōfer*, "bank." Jellinghaus (Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 309) gives ? *myceldefer* C.D. iii. 203, *Candevere*, *Cendefer* v. 86 (*Candover*, *Hants.*), *Endefer* iii. 203 (? *Andover*, *Hants.*). These names seem to contain this **ēfer*.

The second element of Type II is O.E. *ōfer* (q.v. Pt II).

Billingshurst.

Type I.

1202 Bellingesherst, Abbr. Plac. p. 37.
1290, 1312 Billinghurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 105, 252.
1304 Byllingeshurst, ibid. p. 204.
1521 Byllyngeshurst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 73.

Type II.

1278 Boleynsherst, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

"The 'hurst,' 'wood' of *Billing*," O.E. *Billingeshyrst*, not of the *Billings*, which would be O.E. *Billingahyrst*, and modern (biliŋəst). Names in *Bill-* were common in O.E. and *Billinga* occurs in an O.E. pl.-n. *Billingabyrig*, Cart. Sax. No. 144. Cf. *Billingley* in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns.

Type II seems to contain a Normanised form of *Billinges* for its first element. Or possibly the *Bol-* = *Bul-* and is due to lip modification. See Phonology above and cf. *busshoppede* (pret.) in Langland, Text C. Passus xviii. l. 268. See also Dibelius, Engl. Schriftspr., Anglia xxiii. p. 332.

Bilsham.

Type I.

1085 Bilesham, D.B. i. 25 a.

Type II.

1302 Bulsham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 182.
1307 Bulesham, ibid. p. 228.
1345 Bulsham, ibid. ii. p. 124.
1414 Bulsham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 368.

Type III.

1266 Belesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 30.
1411–2 Belsham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.

"The *hām* or 'homestead' of Bill." Cf. preceding name. The *i*, *e* and *u* forms above point to O.E. **Bylla* < **Bul-ja*, which is not recorded but which may have existed, since we have *Bola* < **Bul-a*. See *Bolebrook* below.

Binderton.

1233 Bendriton, Cl. Rolls of Hen. III (1231–4), p. 239.
1428 Bynderton, F.A. v. p. 157.

"The *tūn* of Bēānhere?" The pers. n. **Bēānhere* is not recorded by Searle, but *Bēān-* did exist as a first element, and *-here* was very common as a second.

The development is O.E. **Bēānheretūn* > **Bēneretun* > *Bĕn(d)-ertun* > *Binderton* (bindətn) by raising of *e* to *i* before *n* + cons. On this change see Phonology above, *Binsted* and *Grinstead* below.

Bineham.

Type I.

1244 Bynelham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 60.
1339 Bynilham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 92.

Type II.

1273 Buneldham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 51.
1341 Bunelham, ibid. ii. p. 100.

The first element is a pers. n. Searle gives instances of *Buna*, *Byni*, also *Buno* from Förstemann. A diminutive **Bynele* < **Bunila* may be the first element of this name.

If this etymology be correct the early forms above are from a diminutive form **Bynele*, but the modern name contains the O.E. *Byni*. If so (bainəm) must be either due to Norman-French influence, which tended to lengthen *ĭ* to *ī* (see *Ticehurst* below), or it may be a spelling-pronunciation.

The second element is O.E. *hām*, q.v. Pt II.

Binsted.

1085 Benestede, D.B. i. 17 b, 25 a, b.
1278 Bynstede, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1316 Benstede, F.A. v. p. 143.
1342 Byenstede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 107.
1411–2 Benstede, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.
1414 Benstede, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 368.
1618 Binsted, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 482.

The first element is O.E. *bēān*, "bean," "vetch," "faba," "bean-tree." O.E. **Bēānstede* > late O.E. **Bēnstede* > M.E. *Bĕnstede*, then by raising of *e* to *i* before *n* + cons. > *Binstede* and the modern (binstəd). Cf. *Binderton* above.

The first element of the Berks. *Binfield* is O.E. *beonet*, "bent grass." Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., gives the early forms *Benetfeld* and *Bentfeld* from Inq. P.M. (no reference or date). See O.E. *bēān* and *stede* in Pt II.

Possibly also the first element of the Sussex *Binsted* may be an O.E. pers. n. in *Bēān-*, of which Searle cites *Bēānstān* from Beowulf, l. 524, and *Beanhard* without reference.

Birdham.

683? Bridham, C.D. v. p. 33.
957 Bridham, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1085 Bridehā, D.B. i. 24 a.
1105 Bridsham, Fr. Ch. No. 921, p. 328.
1274 Bridham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1280 Briddeham, ibid. p. 73.
1336 Bridham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 301.
1359 Bridham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 216.
1411–2 Bridham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 135.
1501 Byrdeham } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 76.
1579 Bordham }

O.E. *bridhām*, "the homestead where young birds were plentiful." Or *Brid-* may have been a pers. n., but Searle gives no reliable authority for its use as such. The modern form

shows metathesis of *-ri-* to *-ir-*, as in the separate word "bird." On the 1579 *Bordham* see Phonology above (*bi-* > *bu-*).

Birling Gap.

Type I.

1253 Berlinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 82.
1266 Berling, ibid. p. 95.
1294 Berlyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 123.
1303 Berlinge, ibid. p. 192.
1316 Berlinge, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 252.
1411–2 Berlyng, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 134.

Type II.

1357 Byrlyngg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 203.
1428–39 Byrlinge, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 380.
1436 Byrlinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 177.

There is an O.E. *byrle* (< **burila*), which means a "cup-bearer," "butler," "calicum magister" (B.-T.). This may be the first element of *Birling*, and the sense of the name "the butler's meadow," O.E. *byrle-ing*. This would account for the two types above, but the meaning is not very satisfactory. See *Birlingham* in Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., and O.E. *-ing*, *-incg* in Pt II.

Bishopstone.

1085 Biscopestone, D.B. i. 16 b.
1197 Bissopeston, Early Stat. Chichr.; Archæologia xlv. p. 209.
1230 Bissopeston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
1274 Bissopeston, Bissopiston, H.R. ii. p. 208.
1278 Bissopestune, Bisepeston, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1389 Bysshoppiston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 119.

The first element is O.E. *biscopes*, genitive singular of *biscop*, "a bishop." The second element may be O.E. *stān* or O.E. *tūn*, and the 1278 form *Bissopestune* makes the latter more likely, although the modern form has *-stone*.

See *Hunston* below, and O.E. *stān* and *tūn* in Pt II.

Blachington, East and West.

Type I (blatʃ-).

1121 blacintona, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1170–1 Blechinton, Pipe Rolls, vol. xv. p. 228.
1274 Blecchinton, H.R. ii. p. 208.
temp. Edw. I Blechintun, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 37.
circa 1320 Blechington, T. de N. p. 222.
1377 Blachyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 359.
1428 Blachynton, F.A. v. p. 165.

Type II (blak-).

1375 Blakyndon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 348.
1386 Blackington, ibid. vol. iii. p. 83.
1471 Blackington, ibid. vol. iv. p. 316.

O.E. *Blæccantūn*, "the *tūn* of Blæcca," a well-known O.E. pers. n. This is Type I above. Type II shows confusion with another common pers. n., namely O.E. *Blaca*. See O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.

Blackboys.

1397 Ricardi Blakeboy. Bundell Forisfactum 21 Richard II, No. 11, cit. Daniel Tyssen in Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 188.

Probably "Blaca's wood." M.E. *Blakebois, -boys*. For the second element, Norman-French *bois*, "a wood," see Pt II, and cf. Skeat's remarks under *Worboys*, Hunts. Pl.-Ns. p. 320.

Or the first element may simply be the adjective *black*; M.E. *blak, black*; O.E. *blæc*.

Blackham.

Type I.

1316 Blakehame, F.A. v. p. 139.
1354 Blakehamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 188.
1371 Blakhamme, ibid. p. 313.
1411–2 Blakhame, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 143.

Type II.

1314 Bletcham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.

The forms in *-hamme* under Type I above make it probable that the second element was originally O.E. *hamm*, either (1) "enclosure," or (2) "bend in a river."

Type I is O.E. *Blacanhamm*, "the *hamm* (q.v. Pt II) of Blaca." O.E. *Blaca* normally becomes M.E. *Blāke* > mod. (bleik). The short vowel in the model (blækəm) may be due to syncopation of the O.E. compound to **Blacnhamm* > E.M.E. *Blăk*(*n*)-*hamm* > later M.E. (*Blăkam*).

Type II shows a confusion of the first element with the O.E. pers. n. *Blæcca* (q.v. under *Blachington* above).

Blackstone.

1296 Rogero Blackstone } Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc.
Alexandro Blakstone } ii. p. 304.

Either simply "black stone," O.E. *blæc stān*, or possibly just the opposite, O.E. *blāc stān*, "shining, white stone." Or again the first element may be the pers. n. O.E. *Blaca* (with a strong genitive), and the second O.E. *tūn*.

The forms in *-stone* above tell us nothing about the second element. *-stone* may be O.E. *stān* or O.E. *-s* (genitive) + *tūn*.

See *Hunston* below, which has O.E. *stān* as its second element.

Boarzell.

1633–4 Borsell, Vist. Ssx. p. 106.

The evidence is scanty, but the name may be O.E. **bāreshyll*, "boar's hill." *-ell* is the remains of the Kt. **hell* for O.E. *hyll*.

See both elements in Pt II.

Bodiam (bodžəm).

1050–4 Bodesham (?), C.D. vi. p. 199. (Kemble identifies this with *Bosham*, but see early forms under this name.)
1085 Bodehā, D.B. i. 20 a.
1267 Bodyham, Bodiham, Abbr. Plac. p. 177.
1274 Bodyham, H.R. ii. p. 217.
temp. Edw. I Bodihame, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 5.

1324 Bodeham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 319.
1381–2 Bodiham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 189.
1393 Bodyngham (O.E. Bodan-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 176.
1442 Bodyham, ibid. iv. p. 215.
1695 Bodigham, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. *Boda*, for which Searle gives authority. A diminutive *Bodeca* is found also in *Bodecanleah*, Cart. Sax. No. 300.

The *-i-* in the above forms and the modern name is all that remains of the O.E. genitive *-an*. Cf. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Padiham* (= O.E. **Paddanhām*).

For the second element see *hām* in Pt II.

Bognor.

680 Bucganora, C.D. i. p. 23.
701 Bucganoran (dat.), C.D. v. p. 40.
953 Boganora, C.D. ii. p. 303.
1274 Bugenor', H.R. ii. p. 211.

The first element is a pers. n., which is only found in the above charters, O.E. **Bucga*.

The second element is O.E. *ōra*, "a shore," "bank" (q.v. Pt II), O.E. *Bucganōra* > late O.E. **Bucgnōra* > M.E. **Bugnor* (unfronting of *ċġ* before *n* immediately following). In this case the pronunciation (bognə) is a spelling-pronunciation for (bagnə).

Bolebrook.

1272 Bolebrok, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 48.
1411–2 Bolbrook, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 142.

Probably "the brook of Bola," O.E. *Bolanbrōc*. *Bola* is mentioned as a witness to a ch. of 824, Cart. Sax. No. 379, C.D. No. 218. For the second element, see O.E. *brōc* in Pt II.

Bolney (boulni).

1284–5 Bolnee, F.A. v. p. 129.
1296 Bolenye, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 300.
1312 Bolene, Abbr. Plac. p. 315.
1325 Bolneye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1470 Jam^{s}. Costedel de Bollene. Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 321.

The first element is O.E. *Bolan*, genitive of the pers. n. *Bola* (q.v. preceding name). The second is probably O.E. *ēā*, "water" (q.v. under *-ey* in Pt II). Hope (Dial. Pl.-Nomenclature) gives the pronunciation of this name as *Bōleney* (= boulni). This is from O.E. *Bolanēā*, M.E. **Bōlene(y)*, and not **Bŏlne(y)*, or perhaps from the M.E. short type by the modern lengthening before *l* + cons., cf. M.E. *gŏld* > mod. (*gōuld*).

Borde Hill.

1294 Borede (?), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1633–4 Thomas Borde (Boord), Vist. Ssx. p. 93.

N.-Fr. *borde* "cottage." Bardsley, Surname Dict. (1901), p. 114, gives *Board, Boards, Bord, Boord* as a local surname. He cites *Robert Bourde* co. Somers. 1 Edw. III (Kirby's Quest, 228); 1634. Baptism of Thomas, son of James Boord (Kensington Ch. p. 29), etc.

borde, "a little house," "lodging," "cottage of timber standing alone in a field" (Cotgr.). Cf. French "de la Borde" (Bardsley, loc. cit.).

Bosham.

1050–4 Bodesham (?) (Kemble's identification), C.D. vi. p. 119.
1050–1100 Bosanham, A.S. Chron. MS. D, anno 1050, p. 169.
1085 Bosehā, D.B. i. 17 b, 27 a. } Boseham, D.B. i. 16 a, 17 a. }
circa 1121 Bosenham, A.S. Chron. Land MS. (E), anno 1046, p. 168.
1160–1 Bosehā, Pipe Rolls, vol. iv. p. 13.
1243 Boseham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 59.
1274 Boseham, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1278 Boseham, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1315 Boseham, Abbr. Plac. p. 325.
circa 1320 Boseham, T. de N. p. 222.
1340 Boseham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 97.
1405 Bosham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 354.

The C.D. form *Bodesham*, which Kemble identifies with *Bosham*, seems hardly to square with the others cited above. More likely it represents *Bodiam* (q.v. above).

The O.E. form is **Bosanhām*, "the homestead of *Bosa*." *Bosa* is a well-authenticated name in O.E., see Cart. Sax. Index.

Hope gives the modern pronunciation as *Bos-ham*, but Professor Mawer tells me it is normally (bozəm). See O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Botolphs, Buttolphs.

1121 Capelle sci Botulfi, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 13.
1620 Botolphs, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 90.

O.E. *Bōtwulfes*, genitive singular of *Bōtwulf*, a well-authenticated pers. n.

This name has two developments :

(1) It became M.E. *Bŏt(w)ulfes*, with shortening of the *ō* before *-tw-*, and gave rise to the modern form.

(2) It lost the *-w-* of the second element already in O.E., and became M.E. *Bōtulfes*, 16th cent. (būtulfs) and modern (batəlfs).

The early forms above seem to be this second type.

Boxgrove.

1085 Bosgrave, D.B. i. 25 b.
1245 Boxegrave, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 61.
1278 Boxgrave, Plac. de quod War. p. 755.
1290 Boxgrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 105.
circa 1320 Boxg̃ve, T. de N. p. 229, § 94.
1329 Boxgrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 22.
1343 Boxgrave, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 312.
1379 Boxgrave, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 210.
1428 Boxgrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 120.

O.E. (*æt þæm*) *boxgrāfe*, "at the box-tree grove." The *s* in the D.B. *Bosgrave* is probably due to faulty hearing on the part of the scribe. Cf. *Bexhill* above, and see O.E. *box* in Pt II.

The modern (-grəv) or (-grouv) for the second element is descended from the O.E. dative type *grāfe*.

[The Cambs. *Boxworth* has early forms *Bochesuuorde* in D.B., *Bokesworth* in F.A. (1284). Skeat (Cambs. Pl.-Ns.) takes the first element to be O.E. *bōces* (?), perhaps Norse, Icel. *bokkr*, Swed. *bock*, "he goat," have O.E. *buc*, "back," "although" (he says) "we find the spelling *Bukeswrth* in Pedes Finium, 1228."]

Bracklesham.

945 Brakelesham, Cart. Sax. vol. ii. p. 562 (No. 807).
1363 Brakelesham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 94.
temp. Hen. VI Braclesħm, Tax. Eccl. p. 135.

I suggest for the first element a pers. n. **Braccol* or **Braccele*, a diminutive of *Bracca*, of which Searle quotes only one instance, a pl.-n. *Braccanheal*, Cart. Sax. No. 778, and C.D. No. 1142.

For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Bramber.

Type I.

956 bremre, Cart. Sax. vol. iii. p. 144 (No. 961).
1085 Brēbre Castellum, D.B. i. 28 a.
1217 Brembre, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 98.
1272 Brembre, Abbr. Plac. p. 185.
1274 Brembre, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1278 Brembre, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.
temp. Edw. I Brembr, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 41.
circa 1320 Brembr, T. de N. p. 222.
1359 Brembre, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 330.
1478–80 Brembre, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 204.

Type II.

1274 Brambre, H.R. ii. p. 210.
1471 Brambir, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 322.

Probably simply O.E. *brēmre*, a by-form of *brēmel*, "bramble." B.-T. cites the forms *brēmel*, *brēmbel*, *brœmbel*, *brēmber* = "bramble," "briar," "tribulus," etc. See next name.

Brambletye.

1265 Brembeltye, Abbr. Plac. p. 162.
1284 Bremebelt', Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1316 Brambelty, F.A. v. p. 139.

1327 Brembeltye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 1.
1386 Brambeltye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 88.
1411–2 Bembiltye, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.
1438 Bramyltye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 193.

The first element is O.E. *brēmel*, *bræm(b)el*, "bramble." The second element is *-tye*, < M.E. *tighe* < O.E. *tēāg*, "enclosure," "paddock." See discussion under this element in Pt II.

Brantridge.

1296 Brenteregge, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 300.

The first element is O.E. *brant*, "lofty," "high," which is still used in the mod. dialects (mainly in the North) in the sense of "lofty," "steep," said of hills. See E.D.D. The second is *hrecg*, the (later) Kentish form of O.E. *hrycg*, "ridge," "hill-side." See both words in Pt II.

Brede.

Type I.

1160–1 Brade, Pipe Rolls, vol. iv. p. 13.
1274 Brode, H.R. ii. p. 216.

Type II.

1251 Bredde, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1278 Brede, Plac. de quo War. p. 749.
1285 Brede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 92.
1288 Brede, Abbr. Plac. p. 216.
1315 Brede, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
1409 Brede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 328.
1633–4 Breade, Vist. Ssx. p. 15.

This seems to be an O.E. **brǣde*, a mutated form of the common *brād*, "broad," "wide." It would thus mean "the broad place," "the wide field" or something of the kind. See the early forms of *Bradkirk* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and remarks under that name.

Type I above shows the usual O.E. unmutated *brād*.

Type II is the ancestor of the modern name.

Brightling.

1016–20 Byrhtlingan, C.D. iv. p. 10.
1085 Brislinga, D.B. i. 18 b.
1273 Brihtlinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 63.
1277 Brightling, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 107.
1294 Brighling, ibid. p. 126.
1325 Brightling, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.

Possibly O.E. **Byrhtelingas* or rather **Bryhtelingum* (dative plural), "(among the) sons of **Bryhtele*, or **Brihtele*." O.E. **Brihtele* is a diminutive of *Briht-*, a shortened form of one of the numerous names in *Briht-*, *Beorht-*, *Byrht-*, etc. Probably it is a form of the name *Brihthelm*, since this name, in its full form, was the first element of the neighbouring *Brighton* (q.v. below).

Or the *-ing* may represent O.E. *ing*(*um*), an inflected form of O.E. *ing*, *incg*, "a water-meadow" (q.v. Pt II).

The D.B. *Brislinga* probably = *Bristlinga*, where *-st-* is the common Norman-French rendering of O.E. *-ht-*, cf. Introduction under *Spelling*.

Brighton.

1085 Bristelmestune, Bristelmetune } D.B. i. 266.
1107–18 Bristelmestuna, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 4, p. 5.
1265 Brithelmeston, Abbr. Plac. p. 162.
1274 Bryhtelmeston, H.R. ii. p. 219.
1278 Brithelmeston (= Bright-), Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Brystelmestone, Lewes Subs. Rolls, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 294.
1312 Brightelmeston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.
1335 Bruyton ? Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 299.
1416 Brighthelmeston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 27.
1695 Brighthemston, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. pp. 164–5.

The *tūn* of *Brihthelm*, earlier *Beorhthelm*. Both Searle and Birch give numerous instances of *Beorhthelm* in O.E. On the D.B. *-s-*, cf. *Brightling* above.

The modern (brɑitn) shows a total loss of the second syllable of the original *Brihthelmestūn*, and if we may take the 1335 form *Bruyton* seriously, the syllable was already lost in early M.E., although scribes continued to write *Brighthelmeston*.

See *Brighthampton* in Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns., for another development of O.E. *Brihthelmestūn*, and for yet another see *Bricklehampton* in Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns.

Harrison (Liverpool District Pl.-Ns., under *New Brighton*) says that "the Sussex *Brighton* was...anciently called *Brihthelmesstān*"; but surely he could not have seen the D.B. forms above.

Brimfast. (In Kelly's Directory; I cannot find it on the map.)

957. Brimfaston, C.D. ii. p. 341.

The second element is O.E. *fæsten*, "a fastness," "fort," "castle." The first is probably O.E. *brim*, "ocean," "sea."

Broadbridge.

1284, 1297 Bradebrugge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 85, 146.
1318 Bradebrugg alias Bradborough, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 258.
about 1320 Bradebrugg, T. de N. p. 226.
1361, 1362 Bradebruge, Bradebrugg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. pp. 239, 256.
1420 Bradbrug, ibid. iv. p. 47.
1633–4 Bradbridge, Vist. Ssx. p. 71.

æt þǣre brādan brycg, "at the broad bridge," or O.E. *brāda brycg*, "the broad bridge." The M.E. forms have a short *ă* in the trisyllabic compound *brădebrugg*; the modern name is a new formation from the independent word *broad*.

Broadford Bridge.

Type I.

1085 Bredford, H. D.B. i. 28 b.
1274 Bretford, H.R. ii. pp. 201, 202.
1278 Bretford, Plac. de quo War. p. 762.
1369 Bretford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 298.
1428 Bretford, F.A. v. p. 159.

Type II.

1274 Brutford, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1361 Brutforde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.

Type III.

1274 Bradeford, Abbr. Plac. p. 187.

Type I is the commonest and earliest form, and contains as its first element O.E. **brǣde*, a mutated form of *brād*, "broad" (see *Brede* above).

The modern form (brōdfəd) is not descended from any of these Types, but is a new formation, as in *Broadbridge* above.

I can make nothing of Type II, unless the first element be O.E. *brȳd*, "a bride," which is not probable.

See O.E. *brād* and *ford* in Pt II.

Broadwater.

946–55 Bradanwætere, C.D. v. p. 333.
1085 Bradewatre, D.B. i. 26 b, 28 b.
1165–6 Bradewatre, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1241–2 Bradewatere, Abbr. Plac. p. 119.
incerto tempore Hen. III, Brawatre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1312 Bradwater, ibid. p. 252.
1373 Bradwater, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 187.
1387–9 Bradewater, ibid. p. 191.
1633–4 Brodewater, Vist. Ssx. p. 29.
1695 Broodwater, Camden's Britt. p. 171.

O.E. *æt þǣm brādan wætere*. Here again, as in *Broadbridge*, the vowel was shortened in M.E. The M.E. form *Brōdewater* occurs 1633–4 above, the exact precursor of modern (brōdwōtə).

No. 5 above, *Brawatre*, is probably merely a scribal error. A loss of *-d-* before *-w-* is not proved for M.E.

Brookham.

1317 Brokesham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 152.

"The homestead by the brook." The form above points to an O.E. *brōceshām*, with the first element in the genitive singular.

See both elements in Pt II.

Broomer's Green.

1294 Bromere, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 136.
1439 Brommore, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 157.

Probably O.E. *brōm gemǣru* (*brōm* = genista). The 1439 *-more* is from the O.E. unmutated **gemāre*.

See both elements in Pt II.

The "*Green*" has been added in post-M.E. times, possibly because it was felt that *Broomer* was a pers. n.

Broomhill.

1293 Bromyknoll? Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 122.

The first element is O.E. *brōm*, "broom," "genista," combined in the 13th cent. with the adjectival suffix *-ig* > *-y*.

The second was originally O.E. *cnoll*, "knoll," "hill-top," for which the commoner *-hill* (O.E. *hyll*) has been substituted in the modern name.

See O.E. *brōm*, *cnoll*, and *hyll* in Pt II.

Broyle.

1226 Bruill, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 37.
1274 Bruyl, H.R. ii. pp. 201, 202, 212.
1278 le Bruyl, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1293 Broyl, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 122.
1294 Broyle, Abbr. Plac. p. 235.
1366 Broyl, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 160.

B.-T. says "O.E. *broel*, *brogel*" (no reference for its appearance in O.E.), "... 'a park,' 'warren stored with deer,' hence the *Broyle*, a wood in Sussex, belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury; *vivarium*, *hortus cervorum*, O.H.G. *brogil*, *broil*."

I take the name to be O.Fr. *breuil* (mod. Fr. "breuil"), "a thicket" < Late Lat. **brogilus*. The word exists also as an element in continental pl.-ns. See Heilig, *Ortsn. d. Grossherzogtums Baden*, p. 19, under O.H.G. *brugil*, M.H.G. *brüel*; Leithaeuser, *Bergische Ortsn.*, p. 189, under *Bröhl*, and Jellinghaus, *Westf. Ortsn.*, p. 8, under *bröggel*, *bröhl*. All these authorities agree with the above etymology.

Buckhurst Park.

1085 Biochest (?), D.B. i. 22 b.
1274 Buckhurst } Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
Bocherst } H.R. ii. p. 206.
1278 Bochurst, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
1347 Bokhorst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 208.
1411–2 Bokherst, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 142.
1428 Bokherst, F.A. v. p. 148.
1450 Bookherst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 246.

The first element is probably O.E. *bōc*, "a charter" ("book"). See O.E. *bōc* and *hyrst* in Pt II. The (a) in (bak-) is 17th cent. unrounding of *ŭ* < *ū* < M.E. *ō* < O.E. *ō*. On this point see Wyld, Hist. Study, chapter on Modern Period.

The independent word (*bŭk*) is probably descended from early 19th cent. (*būk*), with shortening of *ū* to *ŭ* before *-k*.

Bucksteep Manor.

1301 Boxtepe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
1319 Bokstep, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1337 Bocstepe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 172.
1406 Bokstepe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 310.
1411–2 Bokstepe, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 145.

The second element is probably O.E. *stēāp*, "lofty," "tall," "mountainous," used as a noun in the sense of "hill." The first is O.E. *bōc*, "a charter" (q.v. under *Buckhurst Park* above, and in Pt II).

Buddington.

1283 Bodeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1432 Buddington, ibid. iv. p. 151.

The first element is a pers. n. O.E. *Budda*, which is found in Cart. Sax. No. 189.

For the second, see O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.

Bulver Hithe.

1293 Bulewarhethe, Exch. Red Bk. vol. ii. p. 715.

Buncton.

1085 Bongetune, D.B. i. 29 a.
1284 Bungeton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 114.
1292 Bungetone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 113.
1302 Bougeton (= Bongeton), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
1343 Bongeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 109.
1361 Bengeton (?), ibid. ii. p. 240.

I cannot suggest any etymology for the first element *bung-*, *bong-*. Neither the E.D.D. nor the N.E.D. gives any meanings of *bung* that would suit.

There is a *Bungay* in Suffolk, amongst the early forms of which are 1594 and passim *Bongey* (Ind. Ch. and Rolls), 1358 *Bungey* and Edw. I *Bungheye* (cit. Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 147). These *Bung-*, *Bong-* spellings may represent an unrecorded O.E. pers. n. **Bung-*, although I can find no continental cognates to support the assumption.

Burpham (bɅfəm, E).

No early forms. Very probably *Burpham* represents O.E. **burghām* > **burhhām* > M.E. **burh*^{w}*ăm* > (bɅfm). The *-ph-* is merely a N.-Fr. spelling, which frequently appears in early documents for *-f-*, cf. *Grapham* (= *Graffham*, Hunts.) in F.A. ii. anno 1285. See *Felpham* below.

Burton, and Burton West.

Type I.

1085 Bortone, D.B. i. 19 a.
1241–2 Burtun, Abbr. Plac. p. 119.
1284 Burton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1324 Burton, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 280.

Type II.

1226 Burtham ? Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 33.

O.E. **burgtūn* > **burhtūn*. O.E. *burg* meant first a "fortified place," "a fastness," and later "a city." The medial *-h-* was normally lost between two other consonants. Type II, if it may be taken seriously, seems to be a mixture between O.E. **burhtūn* and O.E. **burhhām*.

Burwash (bariʃ).

Type I.

1274 Borwhesse, H.R. ii. p. 217.
1379 Burgasshe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 112.
1428 Burgwassh, ibid. iv. p. 121.
1548 Burwasshe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 135.

Type II.

1294 Burghersh, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1307 Burghershe, ibid. p. 140.
1320 Burghershe, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
1372 Burghersh, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 56.

The modern name is descended from Type I, O.E. **burʒæsc*, "ash-tree by the burgh." O.E. **burgæsc* > M.E. **burʒash* > **burʒʷash* > **burwash* > mod. (bariʃ) by loss of *-w* in the unstressed syllable. Cf. *Borrowash* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

Type II has as its second element O.E. *ersc* which Kemble (C.D. iii. preface, p. xxiv) defines as "ersh," "edish," "aftermath," or "stubble." It is found in O.E. pl.-ns., *langanersc* C.D. No. 589, *héan ersc* No. 18 (cit. Kemble).

B.-T. defines O.E. *ersc* as "a park," "preserve," and glosses Lat. *vivārium* from Bentley and Lye's 18th cent. A.S. dicts., and refers to *edisc*, "aftermath."

(K. (loc. cit.) says that "*ersh* still (1845) survives in Surrey. Near *Chertsey* are some meadows, commonly called *Wettish*, i.e. 'the wheat-ersh,' *hwǣt-ersc*, according to the explanation given me on the spot.")

See O.E. *burg* and *æsc* in Pt II.

Bury.

Type I.

1085 Berie, D.B. i. 17 a, 25 a.
1251 Bery, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1288 Bery, Abbr. Plac. p. 219.

Type II.

1274 Burg' (Lat.) (Bury), H.R. ii. pp. 209, 213, 215.
1278 Bury, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1283 Bury, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.

1337 Bury, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 173.
1361 Bury, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 243.
1416 Burye, ibid. iv. p. 26.

Type III.

1285 Byry, Abbr. Plac. p. 210.

O.E. (*æt þǣre*) *byrig*, dative of O.E. *burg*, *burh*, "castle," "fortress"; later "city," "borough."

The modern name has the spelling of the M.E. Saxon type, but the pronunciation is that of the Kentish (beri).

Buxted.

1323 Bokstede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 323; Bocsted, ibid. iv. p. 434.
1342 Boxstede, ibid. ii. p. 103.
1369 Bucstede, ibid. ii. p. 299.
1382 Bukstede, ibid. iii. p. 50.
1404 Bokstede, ibid. iii. p. 300.
1411–2 Bokstede, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 141.

O.E. *bōcstede*, "the 'stead,' 'place' given by charter (*bōc*)." Most modern names in *Buck-*, *Bux-* are derived from an O.E. *bōc-* or *bōces*. Cf. *Buckhurst Park* and *Bucksteep* above, and see *stede* in Pt II.

Byworth.

1539, 1595 } Byworth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 139.

Possibly simply O.E. *bī weorþe*, by the "worth." Skeat explains *Bygrave* in Hunts. as containing the stressed form of the preposition O.E. *bī(g)* = "by," "near."

See O.E. *weorþ* in Pt II.

Castle Hill.

1243 Castelow, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 59.

The etymology is obvious. See *Castley* in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns. The form above has O.E. *hlāw*, "tumulus," "burial-mound," as its second element. See *Cudlawe* below.

Catsfield Place.

1282 Catfeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 204.
1309 Cattefeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 226.
1319 Cattefeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1356, 1362 Cattesfeld, ibid. ii. pp. 198, 251.
1411–2 Cattisfeld, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 143.

"The field of Catt," O.E. *Cattes feld.* Searle records pers. ns. *Ceatta*, *Catta*, and *Catto*; the last two seem to be variants of *Ceatta.* Duignan finds for the Staffs. *Catshill* 14th cent. *Catteslowe* and 15th cent. *Catteslowe*, alias *Catteshill.* An O.E. pers. n. *Catt* appears to form the first element of some O.E. pl.-ns. in *cattes fleot*, C.D. No. 956, and the weak *Catta* in *Cattanege* (C.D. v. p. 236).

The genitive singular in the first element makes it unlikely that *Catt-* is the name of the animal.

Chailey.

1268 Chegley, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1284–5 Chagelegh, F.A. v. p. 130.
1302 Chagelegh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 180.
1316 Chaggeley, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
1401 Chaggeleye, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 157.
1402 Chaggleghe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 284.
1439 Chaglegh, ibid. iv. p. 198.
temp. Hen. VI Chaggelye, Tax. Eccl. p. 136.

The first element is a pers. n. O.E. *Ċege* < **Ċæge*, a variant of the *Ceagga* recorded by Searle. The name *Ċege* is recorded by Kemble, Index to C.D. from *Cegham*, C.D. 363 and *Ceigham* 532, 896 (= Surrey *Cheam*). The Sussex *Chailey* goes back to an O.E. **Cægan lēāh* > M.E. *Chai(e)ley* > (tʃeili).

See O.E. *lēāh* in Pt II.

Chalvington (tʃɔ̄tn).

1085 Calvintone, D.B. i. 20 a, 22 a (bis).
1278 Chalvynton, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
1305 Chalvyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 207.

1347 Chalvington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 208.
1411–2 Chalvyngton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 142.
1450 Chalvyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 246.

O.E. **Cealfantūn*, "the tūn of Cealfa." Names of animals frequently formed components of pers. ns., or were used as such themselves. Cf. such names as *Catt*, *Fisc*, and the numerous names in *Wulf-*.

The following names from Kemble's C.D. Index may contain *Cealfa* as a pers. n.—*Cealfadún* 812, *Cealfaleah* 526, 1091, *Calfhealas* 150. Or *Cealfa* may equally well be the name of the animal.

The mod. pronunciation (tʃōtn) is developed out of O.E. **Cealfantūn* > M.E. **Chalvetūn* > (tʃaulvtun) > (tʃōtn), while the spelling preserves the M.E. *-ing-* < O.E. *-an-*.

See O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.

Charleston.

1085 Cerlocestone, D.B. i. 20 b.
1295 Cherlackeston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 133.
1306 Charlaxton, ibid. p. 225.
1316 Charlaĉton, ibid. p. 281.
1358, 1361 Charlaxton, ibid. ii. pp. 206, 226.
1401–2 Charlaxton, F.A. v. p. 147.

I can find no authority for a pers. n. to fit the first element. The evidence of the early forms points to an O.E. **Ceorlāc* (or **Ceorllāc*), and this name, though not recorded by Searle, may have existed, since both *Ceorl-* and *-lāc* are common constituents of pers. ns. Cf. names like *Ceorlwulf*, *Ceorl*, and *Hygelāc*, king of the Gauts, in Beowulf. If the O.E. form be **Ceorlācestūn*, the second (unstressed) syllable has been completely lost. For other examples of this change, see *Brighton* above and *Wiston* below; cf. also Wyld's remarks, Lancs. Pl.-Ns. § 14, pp. 27, 28.

Charlton.

680?? Ceorla tun, Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 86, cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 156.
1085 Cerletone, D.B. i. 21 a.

1271 Sherleton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 39.
1274 Cherleton, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1301 Churletone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
1310 Cherleton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 144.
1325 Cherletone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.
1440 Charleton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 201.

O.E. *ċeorla tūn*, "the tūn of the churls or 'free men.'" Cf. Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns. under *Charlton*, also *Carlton* in Cambs., where the first element is the Norse *Karl*; see also early forms of *Charleston* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

Chichester (tʃitstə).

circa 900 Cisseceastre, A.S. Chron. Parker MS. (A), anno 895, p. 88.
956 Cicestriae (Latin locative), C.D. ii. p. 335.
988 Cycester, C.D. iii. p. 236.
1085 Cicestre, D.B. i. 16 a, 16 b and passim.
circa 1130 Cicaestre, A.S. Chron. Land MS. (E), anno 1130, p. 260.
1202 Cicestr, Abbr. Plac. p. 38.
1204 Cicestr Civitas / Cicestrensis Ecclesia } Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 15.
1226 Cicestr, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 31.
1274 Cycestr, H.R. ii. pp. 209, 212.
1278 Cycestr, Plac. de quo War. p. 761.
1315, 1317 Cicestr, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. pp. 247, 254.
circa 1320 Cicestr', T. de N. p. 227.
1324 Cicestr, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 317.
1361 Cicestre, ibid. ii. p. 233.
1385–6 Cicestr, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 191.
1411–2 Chichester, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.

O.E. *Ċissan ceaster*, "the city of Cissa." *Cissa* is a well-authenticated O.E. pers. n.; see Searle.

The modern pronunciation (tʃitstə) is normally developed from late O.E. *Cissecester*, thus tʃisetʃestər > tʃistʃestər > tʃitʃestər > tʃitʃtər > tʃistə.

Note that most of the early form appear as *Cicestr*, i.e. are Norman forms which the scribes persisted in writing. Had the

Norman type of pronunciation survived, the modern name would be (sisistə) or (sistə). On this point, see remarks under *Cissbury Hill* below. Note that the popular (English) type *Chichester* only appears once, and that very late.

Chick Hill.

1284 Chikehull, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 88.

For the Beds. *Chicksands*, Skeat finds early forms D.B. *Chicesane*; F.A. and H.R. *Chikesaund*; *Chiksond*, Inq. P.M. He assumes for the first element a pers. n. **Cicc*, for which Searle gives no authority. **Cicc*, he says, "has nothing in common with M.E. *chike*, a shortened form of *chiken*, a chicken; for this *chike* was unknown till after 1300."

Chiddingly.

Type I.

1213 Chittingeleg, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
1284 Chitinglegh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1323 Chytynglegh, ibid. p. 208.
1348 Chydyngelegh, ibid. ii. p. 146.
1411–2 Chidyngleghe, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 142.

Type II.

1349 Chudingley, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 154.

There is a pers. n. *Cedda* for which Searle gives authority from *Ceddanleah* in Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 506.

Type I above is from the W.S. **Cieddanlēāh* type; Type II is *Cieddan-* > *Cyddan-* > *Chuding-* (= tʃydiŋ) in M.E.

The interchange of *-t-* and *-d-* in Type I above is considered by Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 43, footnote) to be due to the influence of Norman-French. He seems to consider that the Normans could not properly distinguish between Engl. (*t*) and (*d*), and pronounced or wrote either indifferently. In *Chiddingly* the *-t-* forms have vanished entirely, but they persist in *Chithurst* (q.v. below), and O.E. **Tottantūn* is in modern Sussex called both *Toddington* and *Tottington* (q.v. below).

Chidham.

Type I.

1243 Chedham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 59.
1278 Chedeham, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.

Type II.

1306, 1316 Chudeham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 216, 281.
1319 Chudeham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 260.
1334 Chudeham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 172.
1383 Chudham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 57.
1405 Chudham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 353.

Type III.

1242 Chideham, Abbr. Plac. p. 118.
1428 Chydham, F.A. v. p. 170.
1633–4 Chidham, Vist. Ssx. p. 55.

The first element is the O.E. *Cedda* discussed under *Chiddingly* above. The above spellings show the three M.E. types—I. *Cedd-* undiphthongised; II. *Cedd-* > *Ciedd-* > *Cydd-*; III. *Cedd-* > *Ciedd-* > *Cidd-*, with late O.E. monophthongising of *-ie-* to *-i-*. The modern name is descended from Type III.

See O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Chilgrove.

Type I.

1278 Chelegrave, Plac. de quo War. p. 761.
1305 Chelegrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 209.
1307 Chelgrave, ibid. p. 228.

Type II.

1341 Chilgrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 100.

The first element is doubtful. It may represent:

1. O.E. *ċeole*, "throat," used in pl.-ns. in the sense of "narrow valley."

2. O.E. *ċēōl*, "a ship" (always so in O.E.), but also perhaps "a keel," "ridge," applied to geographical features.

3. A pers. n. O.E. *Cēōla* or *Cēōl-*, a "familiar" or shortened form of *Cēōlmund*, *Cēōlbald*, *Cēōlwulf*, etc.

4. O.E. *ċele* (W.S. *ciele*), "cold, chill." (Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns. Pt II, under *Chel-*.)

Phonetically speaking, No. 4 above would fit the early forms of Sussex *Chilgrove* best, with Type II from the W.S. type *Ciele*. But the meaning of an O.E. *ċelegrāf*, "cold grove," is hardly satisfactory.

More probably No. 3 above is the first element. O.E. (*æt*) *Cēōlangrāfe* > M.E. *chelegrave* (Type I).

Type II and the modern (tʃilgrouv) must be due to popular etymology, the association of the first element with the word "chill," common in all periods of English.

Cf. Somerset *Chilcot* < O.E. *Celicot*, C.D. No. 1065; Wilts. *Chelworth* < *Chellewrðа* in the same charter (cited by Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Chel-* in Pt II).

See also O.E. *grāf* in Pt II.

Chiltington.

1085	Cilletone, D.B. i. 24 b. }
	Cilletune, D.B. i. 29 a. }
1274	Chiltington, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278	Chyltynton, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1285	Chiltinton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 173.
1313	Childyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 254.
circa 1320	Chilting', T. de N. p. 227.
1344	Chiltington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 178.
1426	Chiltington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 109.

Under O.E. *Cilt-ern* (*Chiltern*, Oxf.) B.-T. notes "*ceald*, 'cold,' and *ern* 'place.'" But I do not see how the authors account for the *-t-*. In the above spellings there are six *Chilt-* forms against one *Child-*.

The D.B. spellings may represent an O.E. *cild(an)tūn* (*Cild*, *Cilda*, a pers. n.; see Searle). This would square with the 1313 form *Childyngton* above, but it would not account for *Chilt-*.

Possibly *Child-* and *Chilt-* existed side by side, showing the N.-Fr. interchange of *-t-* and *-d-*. See *Toddington* below and cf. Zachrisson, p. 43, ftn.

Chithurst.

1307 Chitehurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 228.
1341 Chedehurst, ibid. ii. p. 100.
1605, 1630–2 } Chithurst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 175.

The first element is probably the O.E. pers. n. *Cedda* (q.v. under *Chiddingly* and *Chidham* above). If this be so, the early (Norman-French) confusion between (*d*) and (*t*) has persisted at least till the 14th cent., and the form with (*t*) has been chosen for the modern. See remarks on (*d*) and (*t*) under *Chiddingly* above.

For the second element see O.E. *hyrst* in Pt II.

Chorley Common.

No early forms. Probably O.E. *ceorla lēāh*. Cf. *Charlton* and *Charleston* above, and see *Chorley* and *Chorlton* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Cinque Ports.

1274 Q'inq Port', Libertas de, H.R. ii. pp. 204, 206.
1296 de libertate Quinq' Portuum, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 144.
1308 de libertate Quinque Portuum, Abbr. Plac. p. 308.

"The five ports," familiar to all students of English history.

Cissbury, Cissbury Hill.

No early forms. The first element is probably the same O.E. *Cissa* that forms the first element of *Chichester* (q.v. above). The modern pronunciation (sisbəri) is due to Norman-French substitution of *ts* > *s* for the English *-tʃ-*. For another example of this substitution see early forms of *Ticehurst* below, and remarks under that name. The second element is O.E. *byrig*, dative of *burg* (q.v. Pt II).

Clapham. *Type I.*

1085 Clopehā, D.B. i. 28 a.
temp. Edw. I Cloppham, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 33.
1303 Clopham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 135.
1312 Clopham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 252.
1361 Clopham, ibid. ii. p. 240.
1394 Clopham, ibid. iii. p. 182.
1428 Clopham, F.A. v. p. 167.

Type II.

1432 Clapham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 151.

Skeat finds for the Beds. *Clapham* early forms exactly like those given above. Moreover he says (Beds. Pl.-Ns. pp. 25–6) that, "In a genuine ch. of the time of Ælfred, *Clapham* in Surrey appears as *Cloppa-hām*, see Sweet, O.E. T. p. 451. *Cloppa* must be a gen. plu. of a form *clop*, which occurs in *clop æcer* (clop-acre) and *clop hyrst* (clop-hurst) in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 589, 590.... The meaning of *clop* is not certainly known; but Kalkar's Middle Dan. Dict. has *klop* in the sense of 'stub' or 'stump,' which would suit all three forms. The mod. Engl. 'clump' may be related....It would then mean 'enclosure of stubby ground,' lit. 'of stubs.'"

Furthermore, the same authority (Berks. Pl.-Ns. p. 94, under *Clapton*) says, "The prefix *Clap-* or *Clop-* is common; the A.S. form, in both cases, is usually *clop-*."

This word is not mentioned either in B.-T. or Sweet's A.S. Dict. It is difficult to see how O.E. *clop-* became mod. *clap-* (klæp-), except by the dialectal interchange of *a* and *o* (= ɑ, ɔ) (by isolative change?). This change (Wright, E. D. Gr. p. 74) may well go back to the 15th century. Cf. Diehl, Anglia xxix. pp. 154 ff., Horn, Untersuchungen, pp. 26 ff. Wright mentions that the change is spread over a large area and seems to be specially common before *-p*. Cf. *strap* and *strop*, *flap* and *flop*.

Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., takes the first element of the Yorks. *Clapham* to be a pers. n., O.E. *Cloppa*, *Clappa*, or *Clapa*. He does not explain the interchange of *-o-* and *-a-*. So also Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., under *Clopton*, for which he reconstructs O.E. **Cloppantūn*.

Clayton, and Clayton Urban.

Type I.

1085 Claitune, D.B. i. 27 a.
1107–18 Cleituna, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 4, p. 5.
1274 Clayton, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1296 Kleyton, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 298.
1315 Cleyton, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.

1316 Claytone, F.A. v. p. 136.
1416 Clayton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 27.

Type II.

1346 Cleton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 137.

O.E. *clǣġ tūn.* O.E. *clǣġ* meant "clay," "mud," "slime."

Type I represents O.E. *clǣġ tūn*, M.E. *claiton*, and has normally developed into modern (klɛitn).

Type II represents an O.E. *clǣ tūn*, with loss of *ġ* in *clǣġ* before the following *-t-*. This, had it survived, would have given a modern (klītən).

Cliffe.

1544 .Clyva, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 169.
1547 Cliva juxta Lewes, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 182.

Simply O.E. *clif*, "the cliff." The above forms are from the O.E. dative *clife* > mod. *Clive* (klɑiv), a pers. n. The pronunciation (klɑiv) for *Clive* is either due to Norman-French lengthening of *ĭ* to *ī*, or to a spelling-pronunciation.

Climping.

1085 Clepinges ? D.B. i. 25 a.
1086–7? Clenpinges, Climpinges, Fr. Ch. Nos. 657, 695, pp. 234, 246.
1251 Climping, Early Stat. Chichr., Archæologia xlv. p. 213.
1367 Climping, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 279.
1390 Clinpyng, ibid. iii. p. 130.

The Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 185, mentions 1633 *Climesfeild* (= *Climpsfold*, nr. *Slindon*, now lost), and *Climeslande* (1217–20) = *Stoke Climsland, Cornwall.* These names seem to contain the same first element as the Ssx. *Climping.*

Searle quotes an O.E. pers. n. *Clima*, "local," from Cart. Sax. No. 751. This may be the first element, O.E. *Clima(n)ing* (" Clima's meadow ") > **Climning* > *Climping* (?). But this does not satisfy me.

Coates.

1314 Cotes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1345 Cotes, ibid. ii. p. 129.
1399 Cotes, ibid. iii. p. 261.
1501 Cotes, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 184.

O.E. *cotes*, genitive singular of *cot*, "a dwelling," "house" (not necessarily a *small* dwelling or cottage). Skeat, under *Coates* in Cambs. Pl.-Ns., says that this name is O.E. plu. *cotas*, but *cot(t)* was either neut. or fem. (plu. *cotu* or *cotan*), never masc.

Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns. p. 45, under *Coton*, discussing the *Cotes* forms which he finds, says they are from the gen. sing. *cotes*.

(N.B. The name *Coates* must be from the gen. sing. of the *cot* type; O.E. *cottes* must have given modern (*kots).)

See O.E. *cot(t)* in Pt II.

Cocking.

1208 Kocking, Abbr. Plac. p. 62.
1278 Cockyng, Kockyng, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1284 Cocking, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 114.
1314 Cockingg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1379 Cockinge, ibid. iii. p. 27.

The first element may be the rare O.E. **coc* which Middendorff explains as "Gurgel," "Schlund," "Schlucht," comparing O.Norse *kok*, "a throat" (i.e. "a ravine," "chasm," applied to geographical features). The *-inge* and *-ingg* spellings make the assumption of O.E. *incg*, "water-meadow," as the second element very tempting. See *Cockleach* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Cokeham.

1085 Cochehā, D.B. i. 28 a.
1316 Cokehamme, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 252.
1336 Cokham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 72.
1357 Coukeham, ibid. p. 202.

The first element may be O.E. *cocc*, "gallus," or it may be O.E. **coc*, "a narrow valley" (cf. preceding name). Or again, as is probable, it is the O.E. pers. n. *Cocca*, which Searle cites from *Coccanburh* in Cart. Sax. No. 246.

The second element is O.E. *hām*, "a homestead," or *hamm*, (1) an enclosure, (2) bend in a river, land enclosed therein.

On the whole, I think that O.E. *Coccanhām*, "Cocca's homestead," is the most likely prototype of the modern name.

Coleman's Hatch.

1544 Colmans hache, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 170.

The "hatch" or "gate" of Coleman, a M.E. surname (Modern Coleman, Colman). "Hatch" is O.E. *hæcce*, "a gate" (q.v. Pt II). The name *Coleman* is also given by Ellis in Index B (Introd. to D.B. vol. ii.) as the name of persons holding land in Surrey, Hunts., Berks., and Oxf. (p. 70).

Colworth.

988 Coleworð, C.D. iii. p. 236.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. *Cola*, of which Searle gives several instances. He cites, for example, the O.E. pl.-n. *Colantrēōw* from C.D. Nos. 712, 780.

See O.E. *weorþ* in Pt II.

Compton.

Type I.

1278 Compton, Plac. de quo War. p. 761.
1329 Compton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 25.
1346 Compton, ibid. p. 136.
1428 Compton, F.A. v. p. 170.

Type II.

880–5 æt Cumtúne, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1167–8 Cunton, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 192.
1224 Cumpton, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 463.
1337 Cumpton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 79.
1411–2 Cumpton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

O.E. *combtūn*, *cumbtūn*, "the enclosure in or by the valley." Type I represents O.E. *combtūn*, and is the ancestor of the modern (komtən). Type II is O.E. *cumbtūn*, and would give a modern (*kamtən).

See Duignan's remarks in Staffs. Pl.-Ns. under this name, and see *comb* and *tūn* in Pt II.

Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 16 note) considers *Compton* to be a mere spelling variation of *Cumpton* due to the M.E. habit of writing *o* for *u* before *m*. On the other hand, probably both *comb* and *cumb* existed in O.E., and were presumably equally common, and would normally give rise to two M.E. types, and two modern pronunciations (komtən) and (kamtən).

Conyboro.

1370 Le Conyngber, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 453.

The first element is M.E. *coni*, *conyng*, "a rabbit" (mod. "coney"), q.v. Pt II.

The second may be M.E. *-ber* < O.E. *bearu* (nom.), "a grove," or O.E. *berh*, *beorh*, "a hill."

"Rabbit grove" is a very convincing meaning. The second element of the mod. Engl. pl.-ns. *Kingbeare* and *Loxbear* (Dev.), has been shown by Wyld, E. St. 47, pp. 145–53, also p. 166, to be from O.E. *bȳre*, through the stages (*bīr*, *bēr*, *bīr*) by a series of sound-changes peculiar to the S.W. dialects.

The dative O.E. *bearwe* > M.E. *barwe*, and is thus indistinguishable from the *barwe* which arose out of O.E. *beorge*, the dative of *beorg*, "a hill."

See M.E. *coni* in Pt II.

Coombes.

1085 Cumbe? D.B. i. 28 b.
1170–1 Alan de Cumba, Pipe Rolls, vol. xv. p. 129.
1274 La Combe, H.R. ii. p. 206.
1316 Combes, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 251.
1335 Coumbes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 66.
1489 Combe, ibid. iv. p. 395.

O.E. *Cumbas*, plu. of *cumb*, "a valley." See *Compton* above, and O.E. *comb*, *cumb* in Pt II.

Cowdray Park (kɑudri).

1222 Coudray, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 353.
1411–2 Cowdray, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.
1535–43 Cowdrey, Leland's Itinerary, iii. p. 92.
1633–4 at Cowdrey, Vist. Ssx. p. 22.

The first element is probably O.E. *cū*, "a cow." On the other hand, many pl.-ns. in *Cow-* have a pers. n. *Col-* as their first element. Cf. *Cowsdown* (Worcs.) which is *Collesduna* (1108), *Coulesden* (1300), etc. (Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns. p. 45). Similarly *Cowthorpe* (Yorks.) is *Coletorp* in D.B. (cit. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.).

But the meaning of the second element, O.E. *gedræg*, "a shelter," "cot for shelter" (q.v. Pt II), makes it probable that the first is the name of the animal.

[Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 211, explains *Cowderoy*, *Cowdery*, *Couldery* as being from earlier *Coudray* (1273), *Coudraye* (1307), *Cowdrye* (1618), etc. This he takes to be O.Fr. *coudraie*, "a filbert," "orchard," Mod. Fr. *coudrier*, "hazel." I still hold, however, to the above explanation; I consider the name is as English as it can be.]

Cowfold (kaufould, E).

1. late Hen. III Cufaude, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 203.
2. 1336 Coufeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 72.
3. 1460 Cowfold, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 318.

Here again, the spelling *Cu-* in No. 1 above points to O.E. *cū*, "cow," as the first element. The second was originally O.E. *fald*, but it has been confused, as usual, with O.E. *feld*. (See both elements in Pt II.) The form *Cufaude* (No. 1) above shows Norman-Fr. diphthongising of *a* to *au* before *l*.

Crawley Down.

1274 Crauledun, H.R. ii. p. 210.

See *Crowhurst* below, and O.E. *dūn*(*e*) in Pt II.

Crocker Hill.

1428 Crokkershelle, F.A. v. 157.

Bardsley, Surnames, gives for *Crocker* early forms *Crochere*, co. Devon, Hen. III—Edw. I, later *Crocker*. He considers it as a "surname of occupation" meaning simply "a maker of crocks" or "crockery." But there is a *Crōc* mentioned as a "nomen viri" by Ellis in Indices to D.B. A and B, and Searle cites *Croc*, *Crocc* temp. Cnut and Harold I, from Grueber. It is not going too far to assume that this *Crōc* was increased to **Crochere* by

the addition of the common pers. n. suffix *-here*, which ends hundreds of O.E. names. The early form *Crochere* given by Bardsley would seem to bear out such an assumption.

Crowhurst.

Type I (Mod. krouəst).

1085 Croherst, D.B. i. 17 b.
Crohest, D.B. i. 18 b.
1164–9 Chroerst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 211.
1244 Croherst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 60.
1274 Crohurst (Crowehurst), H.R. ii. p. 216.
1309 Crouhurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 237.
1339 Crowhurst, ibid. ii. p. 92.
1372 Crowehirst, J. of. G.'s Reg. i. p. 22.
1428 Crowherst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 121.
1633–4 Crohurst, Vist. Ssx. p. 90.

Type II (Mod. krɔ̄əst).

1316 Crauehurst, F.A. v. p. 133.
1319 Crauherst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.

The first element may be the O.E. feminine name *Crāwe* (q.v. under *Crawley* above), or it may be the name of the bird, O.E. *crāwe*. The second is the common O.E. *hyrst* (q.v. Pt II).

Type I and the modern (krouəst) is derived from the O.E. *crā-* type (with loss of final *-w*). Type II, modern (*krɔ̄əst), is from O.E. *crāw-* > M.E. *crăw-* > *crau-* > modern (krɔ̄-).

Crowlinke.

1265 Crawelinke, Abbr. Plac. p. 162.
1302–3 Crawelinke, F.A. v. p. 131.

For the first element cf. preceding name. The second is O.E. *hlinc*, "a slope" (q.v. Pt II). Cf. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Lench*, and Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., also under *Lench*.

Cuckfield.

Type I (-feld).

1121 Cucufelda, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1254 Cokefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1274 Cokkefeld, H.R. ii. p. 210.

1296 Kukefeld, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 298.
1312 Cukefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.
Cokefeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 315.
1633–4 Cockfeild, Cuckfeild } Vist. Ssx. p. 40.

Type II (-feud).

1278 Cokefeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1321 Cokefeud, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 229.
1408 Cokefeud, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.

No trace of the N.-Fr. type ending in *-feud* has survived in the modern (kukfīld). Compare *Henfield*, *Hayfield* below.

The first element of the Sussex *Cuckfield* is probably a pers. n. Searle quotes *Cuca* from an O.E. pl.-n. *Cucanhealas*, Cart. Sax. No. 936, C.D. No. 461. A diminutive *Cucola* also exists.

The O.E. **Cucanfeld* develops normally into M.E. *Cukefeld*, and mod. (kukfīld).

For the second element see O.E. *feld*, Pt II.

Cudlawe, Cudlow.

Type I (-lăwe).

1264 Codelawe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 92.
1267 Codelawe, Abbr. Plac. p. 176.
1274 Cudelawe, H.R. ii. p. 214.
1278 Codelawe, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
about 1322 Cudelawe, T. de N. p. 222.
1324 Codelawe, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. B 169, p. 252.
1421 Codelawe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 60.

Type II (-lōwe).

1534–43 Cudlo, Leland's Itinerary, iii. p. 93.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. *Cudda*, cf. Searle. The modern spellings presuppose two M.E. types *Cudlawe* < O.E. **Cuddanhlāwe* (dative), and *Cud(e)lōwe* < O.E. **Cuddanhlā(w)* (nom.). Both *-lawe* and *-lowe* are pronounced locally merely as (-lə).

For the second element see O.E. *hlāw*, "a tumulus," "mound," "burial-mound," in Pt II.

Dallington (dælinŋtən).

1085 Dalintone, D.B. i. 18 b.
1243 Dalinton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 59.
1264 Dallington, ibid. p. 93.
1301 Dalington, ibid. p. 133.
1337 Dalinton, ibid. p. 172.
1406 Dalington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 310.
1484 Dalyngton, ibid. iv. p. 421.

The first element is a pers. n. There is no authority in O.E. for **Dalla*, which would suit the above name perfectly, but Searle gives a few examples of *Dealla*. An O.E. **Deallantun*, however, might give a modern (dælinŋtən), although its normal development would be (dōlinŋtən), from the O.E. diphthongised type (not found, however, among the early forms) **Daulington*.

For the second element see *tūn* in Pt II.

Dean, East and West.

725 Dene, C.D. v. p. 42.
1085 Dene, D.B. i. 19 a, 19 b, 21 a (bis).
1206 Dene, Abbr. Plac. p. 55.
1226 Westdene, Estdene, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
1274 Denne, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1278 Dene, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.
1313 Dene, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 238.
1383 Denne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 57.
1437 Dene, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 214.

Simply O.E. *dene*, dative of *denu*, a "dean," "valley."

The 1274 and 1383 *Denne* above is probably due to the influence of the unstressed form (which was often thus written) or to the O.E. *denn*, a "den," "lustrum fearum." See Wyld's remarks under *denu* and *denn* in Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Denne Hill.

1274 Denne, H.R. ii. p. 207.

This is probably the O.E. *denn* referred to in the last name. See Pt II.

Denton, and Denton Urban.

801 Denton, C.D. v. p. 63.
825 Deanton, C.D. v. p. 75.
868 Deaniton, C.D. v. p. 116.
1085 Dentune, D.B. i. 29 a.
1203 Denton, Abbr. Plac. p. 45.
1430 Denton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 129.

Of the Hunts. *Denton* Skeat remarks (Hunts. Pl.-Ns.), "the prefix may represent either O.E. *denu*, 'a valley,' or the gen. plu. *Dena* 'of the Danes,' of which the plu. nom. was *dene*." The C.D. forms above make it probable that the Sussex name contained O.E. *denu* as its first element.

The Dicker.

temp. Edw. I la Dikere, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 41.
1293 Dikere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 122.
1359 Dyker, ibid. ii. p. 214.
1460–80 the Dekyr, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 322.

Does this mean "the ditcher's," i.e. "the ditcher's place" or "hut"? This is the only definition in E.D.D. for *dicker* which would suit this name. The O.E. word for a "digger" or "ditcher" was *dīcere* (cit. B.-T. from Ælfric's Gr. and Gloss).

Didling, Dudelyng.

Type I.

1258 Dedling, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 19.
Also Dedlinge, incerto tempore Hen. III, ibid. p. 43.
1411–2 Dedelyng, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.

Type II.

1421 Dudeling, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 58.
1428 Dudelynge, F.A. v. p. 171.

O.E. *Dyddelingas*, "descendants of *Dyddel*." Cf. Searle. The modern (didliŋ) finds no prototype among the early forms. For other examples of patronymics as pl.-ns. cf. *Goring* and *Hastings* below.

Ditchling, Ditchelling.

Type I.

880–5 æt Diccelingum, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Dicelinges, D.B. i. 22 b, 26 a.
1121 dicelingis, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
circa 1320 Dycheling, T. de N. p. 222.
Dicheling, T. de N. p. 224.
1633–4 Ditcheleng, Vist. Ssx. p. 88.

Type II.

1085 Diceninges, D.B. i. 22 b.
1260 Dicheninge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1274 Dychening, H.R. ii. p. 213.
1278 Dychennyg' / Dichenningg } Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1288 Dycheninge, Abbr. Plac. p. 217.
1325 Dichening, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 207.
1439 Dychenyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 198.
1486 Dyckening, ibid. p. 379.

Is it possible that this name meant "place of the dwellers near the ditch"? < O.E. **dīcel-* or *dicċel-*, a diminutive of *dīc*, "a ditch"? But there is no evidence of (*ditʃl) or (*dikl) in the modern dialects.

The spellings in Type II are considered by Zachrisson to be due to Norman-French interchange between *-l-* and *-n-*. (A.-N. Influence, p. 140.)

Donnington.

temp. Edw. I Donnynton, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 5.

Possibly O.E. *Dunnantūn*, "the 'tūn' of Dunna," cf. Searle. (doniŋtən) is merely a modern spelling-pronunciation.

Duddleswell.

Type I.

1295 Dodeleswell, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 127.
1317 Dodeleswell, ibid. p. 288.
1325 Dodeleswell, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 283.

Type II.

1305, 1309 Dodewell, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 207, 237.
1315 Dodeswelle, ibid. p. 275.

O.E. *Duddeleswell.* Searle gives *Duddel* as a witness to a charter, Cart. Sax. No. 426, and C.D. No. 256 (anno 824). Cf. *Didling* above for *Dyddel*, the mutated type of the name.

Dumpford.

Type I.

1274 Dumesford, H.R. ii. p. 210.

Type II.

1289 Demeford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 103.
1349 Dempford, ibid. ii. p. 153.
1361 Demford, ibid. ii. p. 243.
1418 Dempford, ibid. iv. p. 38.
1428 Demford, F.A. v. p. 156.

It seems that the first element is a pers. n., but I can find no evidence of one to fit the above types.

There is no **Dem-*, **Dum-* or **Dymm-* recorded by Searle. On the other hand, S. gives authority for the name *Dynne* in eight instances. But for Type I above, this name might fit the mod. *Dumpford*, and would also explain the forms under Type II (Kt. *e* for $y < (u + i)$). But this is unsatisfactory. The second element is O.E. *ford*, q.v. Pt II.

Duncton.

1085 Donechitone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1136 Dunecktuna, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510.
1314 Duneketon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1316 Doneketon, ibid. p. 281.
1388 Doneghton, ibid. iii. p. 109.
1411–2 Dunketon, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.
1428 Dongheton, F.A. v. p. 157.

The "tūn" of *Dun(n)eca.* The first element is a diminutive of the O.E. *Dunn* or *Dunna*, both of which are recorded by Searle. He further quotes the form *Dunnic* as occurring once. Note that the ancestor of this name is late O.E. *Dun(n)ecatūn*,

where the first element has lost its genitive suffix. See *Dunkenhalgh* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Durrington.

1085 Derentune, D.B. i. 28 b (bis).
incerto tempore Hen. III Durinton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1633–4 Dorington, Vist. Ssx. p. 21.

"The 'tūn' of Dyra"; O.E. *Dyrantūn.* The pers. n. *Dyra* occurs as the first element of a pl.-n. *Dyrantreow* in Cart. Sax. No. 721, and C.D. No. 369.

The D.B. form above has the Kentish type of the vowel (O.E. $y < u + i$), while the modern form is derived from the southern type.

Earnley.

780? Earneleagh, C.D. v. p. 52.
930 Earnelega (Lat.), C.D. ii. p. 166.
945 Earnele (Lat.), C.D. ii. p. 257.
1014 on Earnaleá, C.D. vi. p. 168.
1366 Ernley, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 336.
1633–4 Ernley, Vist. Ssx. pp. 12, 48.

O.E. *earnalēāh.* The O.E. *earn* meant "an eagle," but it may also have been a pers. n., as was *Hafoc.* Note that O.E. *Earnleie* in a charter dated 994 develops into *Arley* in Worcs. (see Duignan under *Arley Kings* in Worcs. Pl.-Ns.), and that O.E. *Earnanford* > *Arnford* (Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns.). The *Ern-* forms are probably southern.

Eartham.

1283 Erthame, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 83.
1397 Ertham, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Ertham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
1428 Ertham, F.A. v. p. 171.
1439 Ertham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 197.

The first element is probably O.E. *erþ*, "plough-land" (W.S. *ierþ, yrþ*), < **arþi*, cognate with O.E. *eorþe, erian, eard.* On this element see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Arbury*, and in Pt II.

For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Easebourne.

1085 Esborne H., D.B. i. 29 b.
Eseburne H., D.B. i. 23 b.
1165–6 Eseburna, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1278 Eseburn, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1316 Eseburne, F.A. v. p. 139.
1337 Eseborne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 172.
Esebourn, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 80.
1411–2 Esbourne, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.

The first element is probably O.E. *Esan*; M.E. *Ēse(n)*-, the genitive singular of the pers. n. *Esa*, for which see Searle, p. 235. Cf. also *Easington* and *Easingwold* in Yorkshire.

Eastbourne.

1085 Burne, D.B. i. 19 b, 22 a, 24 a.
1243 Bourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 2.
1268 Burne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 99.
1294 Estborn, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 123.
1306 Burne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 138.
Also Estbourne (twice), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 225.
1316 Bourne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 149.
1415 Estbourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 14.

The name was originally simply O.E. *burna*, "brook," the qualifying *East-* being added in the early M.E. period. There is also a *Westbourne* in Sussex. See O.E. *burna* in Pt II.

Eastdean.

1085 Esdene, D.B. i. 19 a.
1202, 1203 Eastden, Estden, Abbr. Plac. pp. 38, 44.
1253 Esten, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 82.
1278 Estdenn, Plac. de quo War. p. 762.
1283 Estdene, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1294 Estdene, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.

O.E. *Ēastdene* dative of *Ēastdenu*, "the east valley." O.E. *denu* as a second element often appears in Sussex as *-dean*. The normal unstressed form is M.E. *-den*; *-dean* must have been restored on the analogy of the independent word.

See *ēast* and *denn* in Pt II.

Eastergate.

1317 Estergate, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. B 375, p. 436.

Easthampnett.

1290 Esthamptonet, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 105.
1295 Esthamptenet, ibid. p. 128.

O.E. **ēāsthāmtūn*, "the east enclosure round the homestead," with the addition of the N.-Fr. diminutive suffix *-et, -ot* (Mod. Fr. *-ette*). Cf. the pers. ns. *Annett* < *Anne*; *Wilmot* < *Wilm* < *Wilhelm*. See also *Littlehampton* below.

Easton.

1085 Estone, D.B. i. 21 b, 24 a.
1121 estuna, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 13.
1306 Estone, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 17.

O.E. *ēāsttūn*, "the east town." O.E. *ēāsttūn* often develops into L. O.E. *ēsttūn* > M.E. *āst(t)on* > modern *Aston* (æstən). See Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns., under *Aston*.

Echinham, Echingham; Etchinham, Etchingham.

1158–9 Hechingehā, Pipe Rolls, vol. i. p. 60.
1207 Echingham, Abbr. Plac. p. 57.
1268 Echingham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 98.
1278 Ecchyngeham, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1313 Echingham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 238.
circa 1320 Echingham, T. de N. p. 223.
1339 Echingham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 92.
1381 Ethingham (= Etchingham) } ibid. iii. p. 36.
1411–2 Echynghame, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 143.
1437 Echingham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 214.

From the evidence of the *-inge-, -ynge-* spellings above this name would seem to be O.E. *Eccinghām*, "the homestead of the Eccings." Searle records several examples of O.E. *Ecca* (which I take to be *Ecca*, with the double front stop). Duignan explains the Worcs. *Eckington* thus, but see *Eckington* below.

Eckington.

1085 1 Echentone, D.B. i. 19 a.
2 Achintone, D.B. i. 22 a.
3 Achiltone, D.B. i. 22 a.
1325 Eghynton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 324.

From the 1325 form above, it is probable that the back-stop (k) existed in this name in the O.E. period. *Achintone* and *Achiltone* (Nos. 2 and 3 above) are due to Norman-French interchange of *-l* and *-n* in the unstressed syllable (cf. Zachrisson, A.-N. Influence, p. 141).

Moreover the D.B. forms point to a long vowel, either *ǣ*, or *ēā* in O.E. There is a pers. n. *Eacca* in Cart. Sax. No. 519, but the quantity of the *ea* is doubtful.

Possibly the first element is O.E. **ǣcen*, "oaken," a form not given in the dictionaries, but which may have existed in popular speech. I take this **ǣcen* to be a mutated form of the adjective *ācen* (i.e. *ǣcen* < **ācinn-*), with restoration of the back-stop through the influence of *āc*.

Thus O.E. **ǣcentūn* > M.E. (**ēkiŋtun*). On the shortening of the first syllable see Phonology above. Cf. also *Oakendean* below.

Edburton.

1316 Edburton, F.A. v. p. 135.
1317 Edburgheton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 250.
1434 Edburghton, ibid.
1633–4 Edberton, Vist. Ssx. p. 64.

O.E. *Ēadburgtūn*, "the 'tūn' of Ēādburg." All O.E. names in *-burg* are feminine. *Eadburg* occurs in O.E. in an Essex pl.-n. (D.B. *Edburgetun*, 46 b, 73 b). See Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns., under *Adderbury*, and Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Abram*.

Egdean.

Type I (-dene).

1278 Egedene, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
1539 Eggdean, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 252.

Type II (-dūne).

1279 Egedon, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.

The first element is probably O.E. *Ecġ-*, a familiar form of one of the numerous names in *Ecg-*, such as *Ecgbald*, *Ecgberht*, *Ecgheard*, etc., of which Searle gives copious examples.

The *-ċġ-* was unfronted to *g* in late O.E. before the following *-d*. The second element was originally O.E. *denu*, "a valley," but it has been confused with O.E. *dūne*, "down," "hill." Cf. *Findon* and *Playden* below, and O.E. *dene* and *dūne* in Pt II.

Or the first element may be O.E. *ecġ*, "hill-side," "hill." If so the sense is "the valley by the hill-side." But the explanation above is just as likely.

Elstead.

Type I.

1274 Elnested, H.R. ii. p. 213.
1289 Elnestede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 102.
circa 1320 Elnestede, T. de N. p. 224.
1421 Elnestede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 58.

Type II.

1241 Elvestede, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1258 Elvested, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 19.
circa 1320 Elvestede, T. de N. p. 222.
1360 Elvested, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. C 60, p. 392.
1428 Elvestede, F.A. v. p. 156.

Type III.

1411-2 Ellistede, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.

O.E. *Ælfwinesstede*, "the 'stead,' 'place' of *Ælfwine*," a well-known O.E. pers. n. Type I above represents the M.E. form of *Ælfwinesstede*, while Type II appears to stand for O.E. *Ælfesstede*, where *Ælf* is a short form of the full name, like the modern Alf. for Alfred, Will. for William, etc. Very often we find pl.-ns. containing these short forms of O.E. names, while the earliest records write the full name. On this point see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Ainsdale* and *Ainsworth*.

It is interesting to note that this name preserves the late Kt. or southern vowel *e* for pr. O.E. *æ* in the old forms as well as in the modern.

Type III appears to be a later development of Type II, through the simplifying of the consonant-group *-lvst-* to *-lst-*, and is the immediate precursor of the modern (elsted).

Eridge Green.

1085 Eregge Hamlet, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 131.
1349 Erugg, ibid. ii. p. 160.
1399 Erysshe, ibid. iii. p. 271.

Skeat, Cambs. Pl.-Ns., derives *Earith* from O.E. **ēārhȳþ*, where *ēār* is used in the sense of "earth," "soil." He refers to the Scand. cognates, O.Norse (Icel.) *aurr*, "wet clay," "slime," "mud"; Danish *ör*, "gravel," and Swedish Dial. *ör*, "a sandy shore." See B.-T.

The second element is O.E. *hrycg*, the spelling *Erysshe* above is probably a scribal error. O.E. *-ċġ-* can hardly develop phonetically into M.E. *-sh-*.

Eringham.

1085 Eringehā, D.B. i. 28 a.
1314 Herryngham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1316 Eringeham, F.A. v. p. 135.

Possibly a compound of the *ēār* mentioned in the preceding name with O.E. *incge* and *hām*. O.E. *ēāringehām* would mean "the homestead by the earthy meadow."

Ewhurst, Yewhurst.

1073 Luvehest, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1279 Iwehurste, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
1316 Iwehurst, F.A. v. p. 133.
About 1320 Yvehurst, T. de N. p. 223, § 67.
1327 Yhurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 10.
1336 Iwehurst, ibid. p. 72.
1378 Uhurst, ibid. iii. p. 17.
1411–2 Ewherst, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 139.

The first element is O.E. *īw*, *ēōw*, "a yew tree," the second O.E. *hyrst* (q.v. Pt II). Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 66 note) explains the 1073 *Luvehest* simply as = *iuvehest*, with (French) orthographical confusion between *i* and *l*.

Fairlight.

1085 Ferlega, D.B. i. 22 b.
1253 Farleg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 82.
1274 Farelegh, H.R. ii. p. 218.
1306 Farlegh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 223.
1316 Farlegh, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
1320 Farleye, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
1535–43 Fareley, Leland's Itinerary, iii. p. 113 (the editor identifies *Fairlight* with a query).
1592 Farlighe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 272.
1695 Fairleigh, Map of Ssx., Camden's Brittania, p. 164.

The absence of M.E. *-ai-*, *-ay-* spellings makes O.E. *fæger* as the first element unlikely. I suggest an O.E. pers. n. in *Fær-*, of which Searle gives numerous examples: *Færþegn*, *Færwulf*, *Færwine*, etc. Cf. also *Færscaga*, C.D. No. 658 (= Fairshaw, Hants.), *Færden*, No. 187. The modern *Fairlight* must be due to popular etymology, both as regards the first and second elements.

The second element was originally O.E. *lēāge* (dative) > M.E. *lēghe*, *līghe* > *ly*, *ley*, pronounced in Sussex till quite recently (lɑi). Possibly this (lɑi) was increased to (lɑit) to make the name mean something.

Falmer.

1085 1 Falemere H., D.B. i. 16 b, 26 a.
2 Falemere, D.B. i. 26 a, b.
3 Felesmere, D.B. i. 22 b.
1107–18 Fallemella, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 5, p. 6.
1278 Falemere, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1283 Falemere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 426.
1316 Falemere, F.A. v. p. 135.

Zachrisson explains the Anc. Ch. form *Fallemella* above as due to Norman-French assimilation of *l—r* > *l—l* (p. 122, § 4 *b*).

The first element may be O.E. *fealu* (dat. *fealwe*), "fallow," the second either *mere*, "a lake," or *gemǣru*, "a boundary." The *-es* in the D.B. No. 3 form *Felesmere* above may point to a pers. n., but I can find no authority for such a name as **Fæle*, **Fala*.

The O.E. dative *fealwe* persists to-day in the Lancs. *Fallow-field.*

Faulking, Folking, Fulking (fɔ̄kin) and (foukin).

1085 Fochinges, D.B. i. 26 b.
1266 Folkinges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 93.
1278 Folkyngg, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1327 Fulking, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 158;
and 1328 Fulkyng, ibid. p. 160.
1404 Folking, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 300.
1439 Folking, ibid. iv. p. 198.

The first element is an O.E. pers. n. **Folc*(*a*), a shortened form of one of the numerous names like *Folchere*, *Folcwine*, etc., for which Searle gives nearly three columns of instances. He also cites forms in *Fulk-*, and Ellis (Introd. to D.B.) gives numerous names in *Fulc-*, i.e. in vol. ii. pp. 114–15 (Index of persons holding land before the Survey). This *Fulc-* is a variant of *Folc-* (i.e. *Fulc* < Gmc. **Fulk-*(*u*); **Folc* < Gmc. *Fulk-a*(*o*)). The *-ing* may be patronymic, or it may be O.E. *ing*, *incg* ("water-meadow," q.v. Pt II).

Felpham (felfm, E).

880–5 Felhhamme, C.D. ii. p. 115.
953 Felhham, C.D. ii. p. 303.
1085 Falcheham, D.B. i. 17 b.
1293 Falgham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1428 Felgham, F.A. v. p. 154.
1695 Felpham, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

Whatever the first element, it is obvious that the modern *-ph-* = *-f-* goes back to an O.E. back-open-voiceless. The only *fealh*, *fælh* given in the dicts. means "a felly of a wheel" or "a harrow," neither of which will suit. Nor can I adduce any evidence for such a pers. n. as **Felh*, **Fælh*. For *-h-* > *-h*^{w}*-* > *-f-*, cf. *Burpham* above. The second element was probably originally O.E. *hamm*, "enclosure," "land enclosed in a river-bend," which was levelled with O.E. *hām* in M.E.

Fernhurst.

1331 Farnhurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 39.

O.E. *fearnhyrst*, "fern wood." Cf. *Fearnleage* (Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 146, anno 900), *Farncombe* in Somers. and see Wyld's remarks, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Farnworth*; Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns., under *Farndish*; Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., under *Farnborough*.

Ferring.

765 Ferring, C.D. v. p. 49.
791 Ferring, C.D. v. p. 54.
1085 Feringes, D.B. i. 16 b.
1230 Feringes, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 403.
13th c. Feringes, Exch. Red Bk. vol. ii. p. 199.
1274 Fering, Ferynges, H.R. ii. p. 213.

I cannot make much of this name. Possibly the first element is O.E. *Fær-*, a shortened form of *Færbeorht*, *Færgrim*, etc., for which see *Fairlight* above, but the spellings in *Ferr-* above do not favour this suggestion. Another possibility is O.E., M.E. *ferre*, "further." In this case the name would mean "the further meadow," i.e. "one further off than a given point or landmark."

Findon.

Type I (-dūne).

1085 Findune, D.B. i. 28 a.
Fintune, D.B. i. 28 a.
1165–6 Findon, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1260 Fyndon, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 90.
1274 Findon (Fyndon), H.R. ii. p. 202.
1278 Findon, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1287 Fyndon, Abbr. Plac. p. 215.
1315 Fyndon, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
1394 Fyndon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 185.

Type II (-dene).

1280 Findene, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. *Finn*, for which Searle gives good authority. A *Finn* is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron. anno 855. Type I is O.E. *Finndūne*, and the ancestor of the modern form, as spelt.

Type II shows substitution of O.E. *-dene* for *-dūne* in the unstressed position. Cf. *Playden* below.

Firle (farəl).

1085 Ferles, D.B. i. 21 b (bis).
Ferla, D.B. i. 19 a.
Ferle, D.B. i. 19 a, b, 26 b.
1222 Ferles, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 353.
1260 Ferles, Abbr. Plac. p. 151.
1274 Ferle, H.R. ii. p. 208.
1296 Estfirle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 133.
1308 Westfarles, Abbr. Plac. p. 306.
1369-71 Westferles, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 187.
1406 Firle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 309.
1439 Fyrles, ibid. iv. p. 198.

Is this O.E. **fȳrel* < **furhil*, a diminutive of *furh*, "a furrow"? This **fȳrel* is not recorded in the O.E. dicts., but it would be just as normally developed from a W. Gmc. **furhilo* (Idg. **pr̥kʷilo*; cf. Lat. *quercus*) as O.E. *fyrhþe* is from Gmc. **furhiþo*. (See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, pp. 328–9.) If we accept this hypothetical **fȳrel*, the above spellings in *Fer-* and *Fir-* can be explained, and so can the mod. pronunciation (farəl), from the O.E. W.S. type.

Fishbourne, Old and New.

1085 Fiseborne, D.B. i. 24 a.
1278 Fisseburn, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1315 Fishburne, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 247.
1340 Fisshebourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 97.
1391–3 Fishborne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 193.
1440 Fishborne, ibid. p. 200.

O.E. *fiscburna*, "a brook where fish were plentiful." Or the first element may be a pers. n. *Fisc*. See *Fishwick* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and O.E. *fisc* and *burna* in Pt II.

Fishergate.

1274 Fissersgate, Fysseresgate, Fyhsserisgatt, H.R. ii. pp. 202, 203, 209.
1296 Ffysseresgate, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 301.
1341 Fishergate, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 310.
1361 Fissheresgat, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.
1486 Fishergate, ibid. iv. p. 379.

O.E. *fisceresgeat*, "the fisher's gate," or rather *fisceresgatu* or *-gatum*, with the second element in the nominative or dative plural. O.E. *geat* would develop into *-it*, *-yet*, or *-ett* as in *Ditchett*, Devon. Cf. *Polegate*, near East Dean.

Fittleworth.

1167–8 Fitelwurða, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 197.
1279 Fyteleworth, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.
1438 Fetilworth, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 187.
1488 Fitelworthe, ibid. p. 389.

O.E. **Fitelanweorþ*, "the enclosure of Fitela."

Fitela is mentioned in Beowulf as the son of *Sigemund*, and Searle gives examples of the name in O.E. charters. Note the loss of the genitive *-an-* in M.E.; O.E. **Fitelanweorþ* might also give modern (fitliŋwəþ).

Fletching.

1085 Flescinge, D.B. i. 22 b.
1085 Flescinges, D.B. i. 22 b.
1202 Flething
1202 Fletchingħ } Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1241 Fleching, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1253 Fletsinge, ibid. p. 83.
1268 Flechinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1274 Flessing, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1278 Fleching, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.
1278 Flessinges, ibid. p. 755.
1278 Flegging, ibid. p. 757.
1296 Flecchinges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 133.
1323 Flecchyng, ibid. p. 308.
1408 Fletingg, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1409 Flescinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1450 Fleccynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 247.

The above forms present some curious (Norman-French) attempts to express (tʃ) (< O.E. *ċ*?). It is written in no less than eight different ways, of which *-sc-*, *-ts-*, *-ss-*, *-gg-*, *-t-* are probably Norman. Only the English type has survived in the modern *Fletching* (flɛtʃiŋ).

I can find no satisfactory explanation of the name, if it be really English. If it is French, the only word which would suit the first element is O.Fr. *fleche* (mod. "flèche"), "an arrow," possibly in connexion with a battlefield. Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., suggests O.E. *flæx* for the first element of *Flechamsted* (D.B. *Flechamstude*), but the variety of the spellings above makes this doubtful for the Sussex name.

Folkington.

1085 Fochintone, D.B. i. 26 b.
1194 Fekinton, Abbr. Plac. p. 4.
1251 Fuington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 75.
1274 Fokinton, H.R. ii. p. 208.
1278 Folkynton, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1284 Fokinton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 116.
1331 Fokinton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 41.
1401–2 Fokyngton, F.A. v. p. 146.
1411–2 Fokyngton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 141.

The first element may be the same O.E. **Folca* discussed under *Faulking* above. The absence of an *-l-* in the majority of the above forms is noteworthy. See O.E. *tūn* in Pt II. Searle gives *Focco* as a "nomen viri" from Piper, but there is no evidence of a **Focce* or **Focca* in O.E.

Ford.

1212 Fordes, Abbr. Plac. p. 86.
1272 Forde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 50.
1274 Fordes, H.R. ii. p. 214.
1278 Fordes, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
temp. Edw. I atte Forde, Cust. B. Abbey, pp. 4, 6 and passim.
1310 Ford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 242.
circa 1320 Fordes, T. de N. p. 222.

O.E. (*æt þǣm*) *forde*, "at the ford." See Pt II.

Framfield.

1085 Framelle, D.B. i. 21 b.
1314 Fremelfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
1366 Fremfeld, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 161.
temp. Hen. VI Fremefeud, Tax. Eccl. p. 138.

The first element is probably a pers. n. in *Fram-*. Searle gives *Fram* from Grueber, also *Frambeald*, *Frambolt*, and *Franpalt*. The spellings in *Frem-* above are probably descended from an O.E. mutated form **Freme*, not recorded by Searle.

Friston.

Type I.

1294 Fristone, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1317 Frystone, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 254.
1328 Friston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.

Type II.

1288 Freston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 100.

The first element may be O.E. *friþ*, *fyrhþe*, "forest land," used in the genitive (see this element in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II; no connexion with O.E. *friþ*, "peace"). But more probably the first element is O.E. *Friþes-*, the genitive singular of a pers. n. such as *Friþubeald*, *Friþstan*, or *Friþustan*. Searle gives five columns of names beginning with O.E. *Friþu-*.

The development to mod. *Friston* is normal; O.E. **Friþestūn* > *Friðestun* > M.E. *Friðstun* < by loss of (ð); M.E. mod. *Friston*.

[There is an O.E. pl.-n. *Friðesleah* in C.D. No. 187, which Kemble identifies as mod. *Friesley* in Kent. This name seems to contain the O.E. pers. n. *Friþ-* discussed above.]

Funtington.

Type I (-tūn).

1306 Fontington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 216.
1411–2 Funtynton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.
temp. Hen. VI Funtitone, Tax. Eccl. p. 136.

Type II (-dūn).

1330 Fontyngdon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 37.

The second element was originally O.E. *tūn* as in the modern name, but in Type II above it has been confused with O.E. *dūn*, "hill."

Furnace.

1306 Furneysllond, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 18.

M.E. *furnace, furneis* < Fr. *forneys, forneise* < Lat. *fornācem* (acc.) = "furnace," "fire." The second element, O.E. *land*, has been lost in the mod. name.

Glynde (glɑind).

1274 Glinde, Pons. H.R. ii. p. 205.
1369 Glinde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 299.
1411–2 Glynde, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 143.
1418 Glynde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 34.
1544 Glynde, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 169.

This is probably a Celtic word. Skeat, Etym. Dict., cites as cognates of *glen* Gael. and Ir. *gleann*, Welsh *glyn*, "valley," "glen." Dr Imelmann, of the University of Bonn, suggests that the word was brought by the English from their continental home in the form **glind*, where the final *-d* is due to some popular etymology. But for the 1274 form above one might assume that the *-d* was added in late M.E. times, but this would not account for the modern (glɑind), nor is the date of the addition of the *-d* definitely determined. See N.E.D. under *astound, pound, laund, sound*; also Horn, Hist. Gr. p. 150; Jespersen, N. E. Gr. pp. 218–9.

Goodwood (gudəd, gudwud).

1252 Godynewod, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 81.
1379 Godmewude, ibid. p. 210.

The first element is probably the well-known O.E. pers. n. *Gōdwine*. The 1252 form above shows the normal development of O.E. *Gōdwine* to M.E. *Gōdyne, Gōdine*. The 1379 form *Godmewude* is due to assimilation of the *n* of *God(i)ne* to *m* before the following lip-cons. The second element is O.E. *wudu* (q.v. Pt II). For loss of medial syllable see Phonology above.

Goring.

1085 Garinges, D.B. i. 24 b, 25 a, 28 a, 28 b.
1202 Garing, Abbr. Plac. p. 37.
1256 Garing, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 85.

temp. Edw. I Robertus, Goringe } Cust. B. Abbey, p. 53.
1274 Garing, Garyng, H.R. ii. p. 213.
1278 Garing, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
1315 Garinges, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 247.
circa 1320 Garinges, T. de N. p. 222.
1331 Garring, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 164.
1379 Goringe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 27.
1433 Gorynge, ibid. iv. p. 155.
1633–4 Gooring, Vist. Ssx. p. 44.

O.E. *Gāringas*, "descendants of *Gār*." *Gār-* is a shortened form of some O.E. pers. n. beginning with this element, such as *Gārfriþ*, *Gārmund*, *Gārwulf*, etc., for which Searle gives good authority.

See *Goring* in Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns., *Beeding* above and *Hastings* below.

Graffham.

1085 Grafhā, D.B. i. 23 b.
1136 Grafaam, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510.
1271 Grafham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 38.
1283 Grafham, ibid. p. 84.
1288 Graffham, Abbr. Plac. p. 217.
1421 Grafham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 469.

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O.E. *græf*, "trench" (mod. "grave" < *græfe* dat.), and *hām*. So Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., under *Graffham*, *Grafham*, which is *Grafham* in D.B. and *Grapham* (*ph* = *f*) in F.A. He also compares *Grafton* in Northants.

Graylingwell.

1230 Greylingwell, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
1232 Greilingwell, Cal. Ch. Rolls, vol. i. (1226–57), p. 178.
1243 Greningewell, ibid. p. 277.

Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence, p. 139) considers that the above spellings show Anglo-French interchange of *-ling* and *-ning*.

Greatham.

1085 Gretehā, D.B. i. 23 b.
Grethā, D.B. i. 24 b.
1268 Grosham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1302 Garetham, ibid. p. 182.
1307 Gretham, ibid. p. 228.
1330 Grossham, ibid. ii. p. 32.
1331 Gretham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 164.
1407 Grosham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 358.
1411–2 Gretham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
1618 Gretham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 482.

Simply O.E. *grēāt(e)hām*, "the large homestead." The *Gros(s)ham* forms above are due to substitution of the Norman-French *gros* or *grosse* for the native Middle-English *grēte*. See O.E. *grēāt* in Pt II.

Grinstead, East and West.

Type I.

1085 Grenestede H., D.B. i. 22 b, 29 a.
1246 Grenested, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 63.
1274 Grensted, H.R. ii. pp. 202, 204.
Estgrensted, H.R. ii. p. 204.
Westgrensted, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278 Estgrenestede, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1315 West Greensted, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
circa 1320 Grenstede, T. de N. p. 222.
circa 1336 Estgrenstede, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 145.
1361 Greinstede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 240.
1477–8 Grensted, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 320.

Type II.

1316 Grinstede, F.A. v. p. 134.
1325 Grinsted, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 283.
Westgrinsted, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1392 Westgrynsted, ibid. iii. p. 151.
1416 Estgrimsted, ibid. iv. p. 21.
1421 Westgrynstede, ibid. iv. p. 60.

O.E. *grēn(e)stede*, "the green place." The O.E. compound *grēnstede* would normally become (grĕnsted) in M.E. as represented in Type I.

Type II exemplifies the fairly common M.E. raising of *e* to *i* before nasal + cons., for which see Phonology above, and the early forms of *Binsted*. Cf. the pronunciation of *England*. See O.E. *stede* in Pt II.

Guestling.

1085 Gestelinges H., D.B. i. 19 b.
Ghestelinges H., D.B. i. 17 a.
1207 Gestelings, Abbr. Plac. p. 56.
1218 Gestlinge, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 208.
1253 Gestlinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 81.
1274 Gestlyng, H.R. ii. p. 218.
1319 Gestlyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1409 Gestlyng, ibid. iii. p. 328.

Guldeford, Guilford.

Types I and II.

880–5 Gyldeford, C.D. ii. p. 115.

Type I.

1274 Gildeford, H.R. ii. p. 205.
1278 Gildeford, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.

Type II.

1274 Guldeford, H.R. ii. p. 218.
1278 Guldeford, Plac. de quo War. p. 751.
1306 Guldeford, Abbr. Plac. p. 260.
1511 New Guldeford
1546 East Guldeford } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 317.

The first element is probably an O.E. pers. n. **Gylda* (< Gmc. **guldja*), but I can find no authority for such a name. Names in O.E. *Gold-*, such as *Goldwine*, etc., are common; cf. the modern *Gould*.

If we assume O.E. **Gyldanford*, Type I (gilfəd) is from the M.E. Midland type, Type II (gal(d)fəd) from the Saxon type. See O.E. *ford* in Pt II.

Hadlow Down.

1253 Hadlegh, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1409 Hadleg, ibid. p. 213. (Cf. *Hæðléah* in C.D. No. 685 = *Hadleigh*, Essex.)

Possibly O.E. *hæðlēāh* > M.E. *hădlei* > *hadlei*, by stopping of *ð* to *d* before *l* or *r*. Cf. O.E. *byrðen* > *burden*; O.E. *morðor* > *murder*; O.E. *sul(h)þorn* > *Souldern* (Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns., sub. nom.).

The first element might also be an O.E. pers. n. *Hadd* (cf. Cart. Sax. Nos. 677, 702; C.D. Nos. 353, 364), but here we should expect a medial *-es-* in M.E., although the genitive suffix was often dropped, especially after names in *-here*.

Note the change of the second element from *-ley* (O.E. *lēāh*) to *-low* (O.E. *hlā(w)*).

Hailsham.

1230 Eylesham, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 445.
1251 Haylesham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 73.
1304 Haylesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1311 Haylesham, Abbr. Plac. p. 313.
1316 Haylesham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 253.
1331 Hailesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 45.
1378 Hailesham, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 30.
1487 Haylesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 387.

Probably O.E. **Æg(e)leshām*, "the homestead of Ægel." Searle, Onomasticon, p. 5, says that *Ægel-* is a late form of *Æþel-* which first appears on coins of Æþelred II (978–1017). The *H-* is a Norman-French addition, and has survived till the present day.

Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, pp. 101–6) attempts to prove that the change of *Æþel-* to *Ægel-* is a sound-change, and is due to the influence of N.-Fr. On the other hand, names like *Ægelbriht*, *Agilbert*, *Agilberct* are found quite early (cf. *Agilberct*, Eccl. Hist. iii. 7; *egilmund* in Lib. Vitæ (O.E.T.), p. 157, etc.). I consider that the late forms in *Ægel-* are merely substitutions of this (early English) element for *Æþel-*, and are not due to sound-change. In support of this are the many continental

names in *Agil-* (O.E. *Ægel-*) and *Adhal-*, *Adhil-* (O.E. *Æþel-*), two separate and distinct elements. Förstemann (Altd. Nbch.) gives 10 columns (27–36) of *Agil-* in continental names, and 25 (158–182) of *Adhal-*, *Adhil-*.

For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Halnaker.

Type I.

1085 Helnache, Helneche, D.B. i. 25 b.
1187 Halnac, Fr. Ch. No. 928, p. 331.
1252 Hannak', Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 81.
1274 Hannake, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1278 Halnak'e, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
About 1320 Halnak', T. de N. p. 222.
1379 Halnaker, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 210.
1411–2 Halnakers, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 135.
1428 Holnaker, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 120.

Type II.

1274 Halnaked, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1281 Halfnaked, ibid. p. 77.
1283 Havnake, Abbr. Plac. p. 206.
1316 Halfnaked, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 280, 281.
1329 Hannaked, Halfnakede } ibid. ii. p. 25.
1337 Halnaked, ibid. ii. p. 78.
1346 Halvnaked, ibid. ii. p. 136.

The first element may be a pers. n. **Hala-*, a short form of such names as *Halmund*, *Halweard*, for which Searle gives authority (p. 279), or just as probably it may be O.E. *hālga*, "a saint," although the D.B. form has no *-g*.

If so, O.E. **hālganæcer*, "the saint's land" > L. M.E. **hăl*(3)*naker* > *halnaker*. The spellings in *-nn-* in Type I above are due to assimilation of the *l* and the *n*; cf. Pr. Gmc. **fulla* < Idg. **pl̥n-* for the opposite assimilation of *-ln-* to *-ll-*.

The forms in Type II above show a curious popular etymology.

See O.E. *æcer* in Pt II.

Ham Manor.

960–3 æt Hamme, C.D. ii. p. 388.
1085 Hame, D.B. i. 22 b, 27 b.
1233 Amvill, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 59.
1287 Hamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 96.
1324 Hamme, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 280.
1331 Hamme, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 164.
1351 Hamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 69.
1375 Hammes, ibid. p. 349.

O.E. *hamm*, either (1) "an enclosure," "dwelling," or (2) "a bend of a river." See this element in Pt II.

Hampden Park.

1274 Hamden, H.R. ii. p. 216.

Probably O.E. **hāmdenu*, "valley where the homestead or estate stood." Or possibly the first element may be O.E. *hamm* (2), "bend in a river." The early form does not justify the reconstruction of the O.E. **æt þære hēān dene.* See *Littlehampton* below.

Hamsey.

1321 Hammes Say, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 299.

Either O.E. *hammes ēā*, "stream bordering the enclosure" (*hamm* (1)), or *hammes ēg* (*hamm* (2)), "island or marshy land in the bend of a river."

See in Pt II *hamm* (1) and (2), and *-ey* (1), (2) and (3).

Hangleton.

1085 Hangetone, D.B. i. 26 b.
1107–18 Hangeltuna, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 4, p. 5.
1278 Hangelton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Hangelton, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 302.
About 1320 Hangelton, T. de N. p. 222, § 63 (bis).
1327 Hangleton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 158.
1339 Hangelton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 90.

I can find no authority for an O.E. pers. n. **Hangel.* Possibly the initial *H-* in the above forms is due to Norman scribes, and the first element is really a pers. n. in *Angel-*, such as *Angelþeow*,

which is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron. annis 626 and 755. Förstemann also in the Altdeutsches Namenbuch gives numerous examples of *Angil-* (107–19), also of *Engel-* and *Ingel-* (loc. cit.).

But this is rather unsatisfactory, since forms in *H-* are the rule, and no forms are found without it. The second element is O.E. *tūn* (q.v. Pt II).

Hankham.

1085 Henechā, D.B. i. 22 a (bis).

This name probably contains the O.E. pers. n. *Haneca*, which is found in an O.E. pl.-n. *Hanecanhām* in Cart. Sax. Nos. 821, 822 and C.D. No. 416.

Haneca is a diminutive of *Hana*, just as *Dun(n)eca* is a diminutive of *Dunn*, *Dunna*. See *Duncton* above. For the second element see *hām* in Pt II.

Harbreating.

1085 herbertinges, D.B. i. 26 a.

1121 herbertinges, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.

The above forms point to O.E. *Herebeorhtingas*, a patronymic from *Herebeorht*, a well-authenticated name in O.E. (modern *Herbert*). A late O.E. variant *Herebrehtingas* would give a modern pronunciation (hābritiŋ), and would account for the spelling of the modern name.

Hardham.

1618 Hardham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 482.

Probably O.E. *heordhām*, "herd-enclosure." Or the first element may be O.E. (non-W.S.) *heorde*, "a shepherd, pastor" (W.S. *hirde*, non-W.S. *heorde*, both < W.Gmc. **hirdja*). See O.E. *heordwīc* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Hartfield.

Type I (-feld).

1085 Hertevel, D.B. i. 21 b.

1265 Hertefeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 162.

1274 Hertefed (Hertefeud), H.R. ii. pp. 204, 206.

1295 Hertfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 127.

1309 Hertefeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 226.

1316 Hertfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
circa 1320 Hertfeld, T. de N. p. 223.
1388 Hertfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 107.
1633–4 Hertfeild, Vist. Ssx. p. 22.

Type II (-fold).

1315 Hertfold, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 246.

O.E. *heorot feld*. O.E. *heorot* is found also as a first element in *Hertford* (= hāt-fəd) which is (*æt*) *Heorot forda* in A.-S. Chron. Parker MS. anno 913.

In the Sussex name Type II shows O.E. *-fald* as a second element.

See *heorot*, *feld*, and *fold* in Pt II.

Harting, East, South and West.

1085 Hertinges, D.B. i. 23 a.
1251 Hertinges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1274 Herting, H.R. ii. pp. 210, 212, 214. } Hertyng, H.R. ii. p. 212. }
1278 Herting, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1285 Herting, Abbr. Plac. p. 210.
circa 1320 Herting, T. de N. p. 222.
1349 Horting, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 155.
1383 Hertyngge, ibid. iii. p. 59.
1479–80 Hertynges, ibid. iv. p. 350.

Probably O.E. *heoroting*(*as*) or *heorotincg*(*as*), "stag-meadow(s)." Cf. *Hartfield* above. See *heorot* and *ing*, *incg* in Pt II.

Hastings.

1085 Hastinges, D.B. i. 17 a, 17 b, 18 a, and passim.
circa 1122 { Hæstingas / Hestigan } A.-S. Chron. Land MS. (E), pp. 141, 198.
1202 Hasting, Abbr. Plac. p. 38.
1205 Hastinges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 22.
1252 Hasting, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 12.
1274 Hasting, H.R. ii. pp. 202, 207, 216. } Hastinges, H.R. ii. p. 215. }

1278 Hasting, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
circa 1320 Hasting, T. de N. p. 223.
1330 Hastinges, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 291.
1356 Hastyngs, Cust. Pevensey, Ssx. Arch. Soc. iv. p. 215.
1487 Hastynges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 384.

O.E. *Hæstingas*, "sons of Hæsten." *Hæsten* is mentioned as a Danish chief in A.-S. Chron. MS. A, annis 893, 894. Searle also quotes *Hæsten*, *Hasten* as a "nomen viri" from Ellis, Index to D.B. B, and *Hæsten*, *Hastin* (anno 1019) from C.D. No. 730, which refers to Dorset. For the *-ing* see *Goring* above.

Hazelwood.

temp. Edw. I Robertus de Heselholt, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 41.
1317 Heselwyke? Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 152.
1339 Haselholte, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 90.
1361 Haselholte, ibid. p. 240.
1399 Haselholt, ibid. iii. p. 271.
1411–2 Hasilholt, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 140.
1432 Haselhelte, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 151.

If the above forms really represent *Hazelwood*, the second element has changed from O.E. *holt*, M.E. *holt* to O.E. *wudu*, M.E. *wude*, *woode*, which meant the same thing, namely, "a wood," "copse," "thicket." *Holt wudu* was a common compound in O.E. poetry.

The first element is O.E. *hæsel*, "hazel," a common element in Engl. pl.-ns. Cf. *Hæslwic*, C.D. v. p. 313, *Hælseholt*, C.D. v. p. 243. See *Haselhurst* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and *Haslewood* in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns.

Heathfield (hɛfəl).

Type I.

1274 La Hethfeld, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1315 Hethfylde, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 148.
1327 Hethfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 15.
1328 Hethefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.
1377 Hethfelde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 339.

Type II.

1312 Hethingfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 252.
1448–54 Hethingfeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 388.

The modern name is descended from Type I, O.E. *hǣþfeld.* Type II seems to contain O.E. *hǣþen*, "a heathen," or the adj. form of *hǣþ* with suffix *-en*, as its first element. Had it survived, it would have produced a modern (hīðiŋfīld) or (hɛðiŋfīld). See O.E. *hǣþ* and *feld* in Pt II.

Heathfield in Yorks. is explained by Moorman as O.E. *Hildegāresfeld.*

Heene.

1085 Hene, D.B. i. 28 b.
1284 Hyen, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 114.
1285 Hyen, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 353.
circa 1320 Heen, T. de N. p. 222.
1348 Heyn, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 148.
1397 Heen, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Hyen, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 139.
1432 Heen, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 151.
1448 Hyen, ibid. p. 238.

All the above spellings point to a M.E. tense *ē*. I assume an O.E. **hēna*, which is connected with the common *hōh.*

Just as O.E. *hēla*, "heel," < **hōh-ila*, with the suffix *-ila*, so might there be another diminutive **hēna* < **hōh-ina*, with the suffix *-ina*. But this word is not recorded in the dicts., nor can I find any Norse cognate. The reconstruction is tempting.

Heighton, South.

Type I.

1. 1085 Hectone, D.B. i. 20 a.
2. 1167–8 Hectona, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 192.
3. 1226 Heketone, Early Stat. Chichr., Archæologia xlv. p. 207.
4. 1262 Hecton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. pp. 22, 26.
5. 1274 Hegtone, H.R. ii. p. 206. } Hecton, Abbr. Plac. p. 187. }
6. circa 1320 Hettun, T. de N. p. 227.
7. 1347 Heghton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 142.

Type II.

1. 1274 Heyton, H.R. ii. p. 208.
2. 1335, 1338 Heighton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. pp. 67, 88.
3. 1438 Heighton, ibid. iv. p. 193.

O.E. *hēh tūn*, "the high town." Type I is O.E. *hēhtūn* > M.E. *hĕhtun* > M.E. *hettun*, as found in T. de N. (Type I, No. 6 above), and, had it survived, would have produced a modern (*hɛtn).

Type II is O.E. *hēhtūn* > M.E. (early) *hēh tŭn* (with long *ē* through the influence of the independent word *hēh*) > later M.E. *heihtun*, with diphthongising before the front (*ḣ*). This M.E. *heihtun*, with subsequent loss of (*ḣ*) (written *gh* above), is the ancestor of the modern (heitn).

Hellingly.

Type I.

1278 Hellingley, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1325 Hellinglegh, Abbr. Plac. p. 355.
1328 Helingleghe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.
1331 Hellingleye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 43.
14th cent. Hellingleghe, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 137.

Type II.

1306 Hillingley, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 225.
1309 Hillynglegh, ibid. p. 235.
1377 Hilyngelegh, ibid. ii. p. 362.

Skeat, Cambs. Pl.-Ns., p. 57, connects *Hilgay* with a tribal name in *-ing*, represented by *Hellingly* in Sussex. But there is no evidence in O.E. for the existence of such a tribe. It is possible that *Helling-* (Type I) and *Hilling-* (Type II) < O.E. **hylling*, "hill-dweller." The suffix *-ing* frequently had the sense of "dwellers in *or* among" (Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., under *-ing*). O.E. **hyllinga lēāh*, "hill-dwellers' meadow," would give a modern *Hellingly* (Kt. *e* for *y* < u + i).

See O.E. *lēāh* in Pt II.

Henfield.

Type I.

770? Hanefeld, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 292 (No. 206).
1167–8 Hafeld (= Hanfeld), Pipe Rolls, vol. xiii. p. 138.
1230 Hamfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
1274 Hanfeld, H.R. ii. pp. 202, 210.
1278 Hanfeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1377 Hanefelde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 1.
1391 Hanfelde, Early Stat. Chichr., Archæologia xlv. p. 228.

Type II.

1274 Henfeld (Henfeud), H.R. ii. pp. 202, 203.
1278 Henfeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1324 Henfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 318.
1633–4 Enffeild, Vist. Ssx. p. 29.

The presence of the *-e-* in the first element of Type I, annis 770 and 1377 above, excludes the tempting derivation from *æt þǣm hēān felde* (thus Duignan for the Worcs. *Hanley*) and favours O.E. **hananfeld*, "cock's field," as the prototype of this name. Type II, the ancestor of the modern name, shows alteration of the first element from O.E. *hana* to O.E. *hen*, *henna*, "a fowl," "hen."

Herstmonceux } (hĀstmonsjū), (hāmœunsi), (hosmœunsiz),
Hurstmonceux } (hĀstmœunsiz).

Type I (Herst-).

1316 Herst Monceux, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 280.
1317 Herstmonceux, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 254.
1406 Herstmonceux, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 310.
1411–2 Herst Monceux, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 144.
1484 Herstmounseux, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 420.
1633–4 Herst Mounsure (!), Vist. Ssx. p. 32.

Type II (Hurst-).

1378 Hurstmonceux, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 12.
1440 Hurst Monceux, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 220.

The "hurst" or "wood" of *Monceux*, a Norman-French family n., originally meaning "at the mound" (Lat. *monticulum*). The name *Joh'es de Monceux* appears above the entry for 1316 in the Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 280.

Hope (Dial. Pl.-Nomenclature, p. 126) gives the pronunciation of this name as *Harmouncy*, *Hossmouncies*, and *Hurstmounceys*, by which he probably means (hāmɑunsi), (hosmɑunsiz), and (hāstmɑunsiz). The first of these is normally descended from the Kt. type (I) above, the third from the Saxon type (II); (hosmɑunsiz) I cannot account for phonetically.

Heyshot.

1283 Heyshott, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1314 Heshete, Heyshete } ibid. p. 262.
1428 Heyshete, F.A. v. p. 156.
1538 Heyshott, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 364.

The first element is O.E. (*ge*)*hæge*, "fenced-in land," "paddock," "enclosure," and the second O.E. *scēāt*, "a corner," "angle," or "nook." O.E. *scēāt* appears as the second element of the Berks. *Bagshot*, on which see Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., p. 87.

See O.E. *gehæge* and O.E. *scēāt* in Pt II.

Hickstead.

1633–4 Hicksted, Vist. Ssx. p. 40.

There is an O.E. pers. n. *Hicca* which is found in a pl.-n. *Hiccan þorn*, Cart. Sax. No. 1143, C.D. No. 1252. This may be the first element of the Ssx. *Hickstead*; O.E. *Hiccanstede* > late O.E. *Hiccastede* > (hikstɛd), but the form given above is very late.

For the second element see O.E. *stede* in Pt II.

Higham, alias Iham.

1303 Iham
1346 Ihamme
1731 Higham alias Igham manor } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 365.

Probably O.E. **īēghamm* (*īēg* the W.S. form; non-W.S. *ēg*), "the enclosure round the marshy ground." If so, the *High-*, which does not appear before the 18th cent., is the result of popular etymology, the deliberate substitution of the common word *high-* for the unfamiliar first element.

See *Ifield* and *Iford* below.

Highden.

1203 Hiden, Abbr. Plac. p. 45.
1316 Hydiny, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 253.
1361 Hiden, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 240.

The spelling *Hi-* in 1203 cannot represent O.E. *hēāh*. It may stand for O.E. *Hyge-*, a familiar form of one of the many names like *Hygebeald*, *Hygebeorht*, *Hygemær*, *Hygewine*, etc., for which Searle gives good authority (p. 311).

An O.E. **Hygedenu*, "Hyge's valley" > late O.E. **Higedene* (unrounding of *y*) > by loss of *ġ* and compensatory lengthening *Hīden* > (haidn). The spelling of the modern name has been influenced by the common word *high*, which was doubtless felt to be the first element.

Hoathly.

1278 Hodlegh, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1289 Hodlegh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 102.
1407 Hotheleth, ibid. iii. p. 317.
1408 Hothelech, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1633–4 Hotheyley, Vist. Ssx. p. 30.

The first element may be O.E. *hāþ*, an unmutated form of *hǣþ*, not however recorded in B.-T. Cf. *gemāre* side by side with *gemǣru*. *Gemāre* is also not recorded, although it exists (in the form *imāre*) in *Ælfwines imāre* (anno 1001), C.D. iii. p. 321. Cf. *Hadlow Down* above. The 1407 form *Hotheleth* is probably a scribal error, although *-leth* may be a Mercian form of O.E. *hliþ*, "slope." For the interchange of *hliþ* and *lēāh* in the second element see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Adgarley*.

Hollington, Rural, and Hollington, St John.

1085 Holintun, D.B. i. 17 b.
incerto tempore Hen. III Holyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1278 Hollington, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1284 *Holindale*, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1390 Holyngton, ibid. iii. p. 131.
1442, 1452 Holyngton, ibid. iv. pp. 215, 254.

O.E. *holentūn*, *holegntūn*. O.E. *holen*, *holegn*, "holly," is found in an O.E. pl.-n. *Holenhyrst*, C.D. ii. p. 228 (cit. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under O.E. *holen* in Pt II). See Wyld's remarks, loc. cit., and under *Hollingworth* in Lancs. Pl.-Ns., p. 156.

The 1284 *Holindale* above is interesting as the only example I have found of the suffix *-dale* in Sussex, although it is common in the North and Midlands. This lends colour to the supposition that *-dale* in pl.-ns. is the Scand. *dalr* more probably than the O.E. *dæl*.

***Holmestrowe.**

1085 Homestreu, D.B. i. 26 a.
1296 Holmestreuwe, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 296.
1411–2 Holmestrowe, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 132.

The first element can hardly be the O.Norse *hōlmr*, "an islet." It is more probably the O.E. **holm*, which Skeat finds in *Holmhurst Hill* (Herts.), a word meaning "holly" or "holm bush," connected with O.E. *holegn*, *holen*. E.D.D. gives the distribution of modern *holm* as Glouc., Ssx., Hants., Dors., Somers., Devon and Cornwall, entirely in the south. The second element is O.E. *trēōwe*, dative of *trēō*, "tree."

Holmstead.

1312 Olmested, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 233.

The first element is probably the same O.E. *holm* which is found in *Holmestrowe* above (q.v.). See O.E. *stede* in Pt II.

Hooe.

1085 Hou? D.B. i. 17 b, 18 a, 22 a (or Hove?).
1274 Hoo, H.R. ii. p. 215.
1278 Hoo, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
About 1320 Hoo, T. de N. p. 222, § 62.
1337 Hoo, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 172.
1362 Hoo, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 258.
1411–2 Lady de Hoo, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 144.

O.E. *æt þǣm hōe*, dative of *hōh*, "heel," "hill," "promontory." The modern pronunciation (hū) is the normal development of this O.E. dative. For other forms of *hōh* when used as a second element see *Piddinghoe* below.

The Hooke.

1202 la Hoc, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1280 Hoke, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.
1296 atte Hoke, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 301.
1423 Hoke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 78.

O.E. *æt þæm hōce*. O.E. *hōc* (modern "hook") is used in pl.-ns. to denote (1) "bend or turning in a river, land enclosed by such a bend," (2) "a piece of land situated on a slope" (Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, under O.E. *hōc*).

Horsey.

1085 Horselie, D.B. i. 22 a.
1202 Horseie, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1304 Horseye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1327 Horssye, ibid. ii. p. 20.
1406 Horsye, ibid. iii. p. 310.
1484 Horsey, ibid. iv. p. 421.

The first element may be O.E. *hors* (< **hros*), "a horse," or it may represent the pers. n. *Horsa*. The second element may be O.E. *ēā*, "water," or O.E. *ēg* (1) or (2), "island" or "water meadow." See these elements under *-ey* in Pt II. Note that the D.B. form shows O.E. *lēāh* as the second element.

Horsham.

947 Horshám, C.D. v. p. 313.
963 Horshám, C.D. vi. p. 67.
1232 Horsham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 50.
1287 Horsham, Abbr. Plac. p. 214.
1307 Horsham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 222.
1325 Horsham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.
1448–54 Horsham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 388.

The C.D. forms above point to O.E. *hors*, the name of the animal, as the first element. The diacritics of the second element in the first two forms make it fairly certain that O.E. *hām* was meant, and not O.E. *hamm*.

Horsted, Little.

Type I.

1085 Horstede, D.B. i. 22 a, 22 b.
1121 orsteda, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1149–53 Horsteda, ibid. No. 30, p. 51.
1230 Horsted, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 351.
1292 Horstede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 113.
circa 1320 Horstede, T. de N. p. 223.
1378 Horstede, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 30.

Type II.

1361 Hirstede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 236.

Type III.

1278 Herstede, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.

Type I is the O.E. *hors stede* or *horsa stede*, "place for horses," and the ancestor of the modern form. Types II and III show confusion of the first element with O.E. *hyrst*, "a wood."

Horsted Keynes.

1294 Horstede Kaynes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 125.
1306 Horsted Kaynes, ibid. p. 225.
1312 Horstedkaines, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 145.
1345 Horstedekeynes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 127.
1388 Horstedekeynes, ibid. iii. p. 107.

The *Keynes* were a well-known Norman family residing in Sussex. E. V. Lucas in Highways and Byways in Sussex, p. 233, says that the name is "an anglicisation of N.-Fr. '*de Cahanges*,' a family which sent a representative to assist in the Norman Conquest." I have found in the Red Exch. Bk. 16th cent. *Kahaynges*, i. 65; *Chahaynges*, i. 72; 13th cent. *Kaynes*, ii. 554.

Houghton.

Type I.

1. 683? Hohtun, C.D. v. p. 33.
2. 957? Hoghton, C.D. ii. p. 341.
3. 1226 Hoctone, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
4. 1278 Houton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
5. 1411–2 Houghton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 135.
6. 1439 Houghton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 197.

Type II.

1. 1256 Hoton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 86.
2. 1273 Hoton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 51.
3. 1278 Hotton, Plac. de quo War. pp. 753, 759.
4. 13th cent. Hottone, Red Exch. Bk. vol. ii. p. 556.

Type I, No. 2, *Hoghton* above, is evidently a later (M.E.) spelling, since O.E. *-h-* (back-open-voiceless) was not written *-gh-* so early as 957. The evidence points to O.E. *hōh*, "hill," "ridge," as the first element, and not O.E. *hōc* (q.v. under *The Hook* above). Most of the Engl. *Houghtons* have as their first element either O.E. *hōc* or a pers. n. *Hōc* (see, for instance, Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., under *Houghton*). The spelling *Hoctone* in No. 3, Type I above, tells us nothing, since M.E. *-ht-* was generally written thus by Norman scribes.

Houndean.

1316 Houndeden, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 386.

O.E. *Hundandenu*, "the valley of Hunda," for which name see Searle. See O.E. *denu* in Pt II.

Hove.

1085 Hou, D.B. i. 17 b, 18 a, 22 a.
1296 Houve, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 294.
1306 Northehou, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 21.

O.E. *æt þǣm hofe*, "at the hall." O.E. *hof* meant a "house," "dwelling" in the sense of a *large dwelling* such as a lord's abode. Cf. modern German *Hof*, "court," and also (especially in Westphalia) "a large farm."

How.

1085 How, D.B. i. 29 a.

M.E. (*at þe*) *hōȝe*, dative of *houh*, O.E. *hōh*. The *-w* in the D.B. form seems to prove that the voiced open *g* was lip-modified already in the O.E. period. For another dative of O.E. *hōh* cf. *Hooe* above and *Piddinghoe* below.

Hunston.

1085 Hunestan, D.B. i. 24 a.
1105 Honestona, Fr. Ch., No. 339, p. 134.
1274 Hunstane, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1278 Hunstan, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1302 Hunstane, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
1428 Hunstan, F.A. v. p. 169.
temp. Hen. VI Honestane, Tax. Eccl. p. 135.

The second element is obviously O.E. *stān*, not O.E. *tūn*. The first is *Hun*, a well-authenticated O.E. pers. n. See Kemble, C.D. vol. vi. Index, and Searle, who gives several examples of *Hunbeald*, *Hunbeorht*, etc.

Hurst, Hurst Green.

Type I.

1085 Herst, D.B. i. 27 a, 29 a. }
Herste, D.B. i. 18 a, 20 a. }
1204 Herst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 20.
1284–5 Herst, F.A. v. p. 129.
1319. Herst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.

Type II.

1296 Hurst, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 298.
1312 Hurst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.
1331 Hurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 43.
1339 Hurst, ibid. p. 92.
1471 Hurst, ibid. iv. p. 316.

Type III.

circa 1320 Hirst, T. de N. p. 224.

O.E. *hyrst*, "a wood," q.v. Pt II. Note the distribution of the *-e-*, *-u-* for O.E. *ȳ*, on which see Wyld, E. St. 47, pp. 1 ff.

Hurstpierpoint.

1316 Hurstperpund, F.A. v. p. 136.
1411–2 Pierpointisherst, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 141.
1478–80 Perpointhurst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 204.
1483 Herstperpound, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. C 1375, p. 524.
1491 Perpoundhurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 405.

The "hurst" of Pierpoint, M.E. *Pierrepoint* or *Pierrepund*, a Norman-French personal name. See *Herstmonceux* above.

On *Pierpoint*, Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 605, says "Local, 'of Pierrepoint,' from the castle of that name on the Sthn. borders of Picardy (Lower). The name is Latinized into 'de Petroponte.' *Godfrey de Perpont* occurs in Domesday." B. also gives early forms, *Perpunt*, *Perpont*, *Perepont*, *Perpount* (1273–1575), loc. cit.

The Hyde.

temp. John Abbatem de Hida, Abbr. Plac. p. 69.
1373 g. atte Hyde, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 138.
1377 Abbas de Hida, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 6.

O.E. *hīd* (mod. "hide"). The O.E. word meant "an estate," "farm," rather than a "fixed measure of land," which was a later development (B.-T.).

Icklesham.

772 ikelesham, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 295 (No. 208).
1160–1 Icheleshā, Pipe Rolls, vol. iv. p. 13.
1268 Ikelesham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 99.
1274 Ikelesham, H.R. ii. pp. 216, 218.
1306 Icklesham, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 25.
1341 Ikelesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 100.
1410 Iclesham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 362.
1487 Ikelesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 384.

O.E. *Iceles hām*, "the homestead of *Icel*." This is a fairly well-known pers. n. in O.E. There is an entry in the A.-S. Chron. anno 626, "Cnebba wæs *Iceling*, *Icel* wæs Eomǣring." For the second element see *hām* in Pt II. Cf. *Ickleton* in Skeat's Cambs. Pl.-Ns., and see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Iden (αidn, E).

1085 Idene, D.B. i. 20 a.
1270 Idenn, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 102.
1294 Idenne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 124.
temp. Edw. I Johannes de Idenne, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 53.
1318 Idenne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 153.
1327 Idenne, Cal. Inq. P.M. ii. p. 19.
1361 Idene, ibid. p. 233.
1385 Idenne, ibid. iii. p. 77.
1443 Iden, ibid. iv. p. 218.

I can hazard no other suggestion but that the first element may be O.E. *īeg* (W.S. form), "an island."

O.E. *īeg* meant not only "an island," but also "any elevated piece of land, wholly or partially surrounded by marshy country or flooded depressions." If we accept the latter meaning here, then O.E. *īegdenu* would mean "a valley wherein lay a flooded piece of land." Such a compound as O.E. *īegdenu* would develop into a modern (αidn). See *denu* in Pt II.

Ifield (αifild, E).

1085 Ifelt, D.B. i. 29 a.
1312 Ifeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 318.

1317 Ifeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 152.
1320 Yffeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 296.
1338 Iffeld, ibid. ii. p. 85.
1544 Iffeld, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 169.

The first element may be the O.E. *īeg* discussed under the previous name. O.E. *īegfeld* would mean "the field containing elevated ground in a marsh."

Iford (aifəd, E).

1085 Ifiwirde, D.B. i. 17 a.
Ifewerit, D.B. i. 29 a.
1121 ifordo, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1278 Iford, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Ifford, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 300.
1315 Iford, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
circa 1320 Iford (Yford), T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
1439 Iford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 198.

"The ford in the marshy ground"? O.E. *īegford* (?). See preceding names. The D.B. forms show confusion of *–ford* with *–f + weorþe*. Cf. *Offord* < O.E. **Offanweorþ* in Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns.

Imberhorne.

1229 Hinberhorn, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 252.
1293 Hymberhorne, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. 2123, p. 484.
1325 Imberhorne, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 283.
circa 1336 Hymberhorne, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 145.

O.E. **Ēōmǣr(es)horn*, "Eomær's corner," *horn* is a by-form of O.E. *hyrne*, "a corner," "angle" (B.-T., Sweet, A.-S. Dict.). For *Ēōmǣr* see examples in Searle.

The development is O.E. **Ēōmǣr(es)horn* > late O.E. *ēmĕr-* > M.E. **Ember-* > *Imber-* by raising of *-e-* to *-i-* before nasals. See Phonology ante and *Grinstead* above. An intrusive *-b-* often occurs after *-m-* between vowels; cf. mod. *thimble* < O.E. *þȳmel* (cf. *þūma*, "thumb"); *embers* < M.E. *ĕmeres* < O.E. *ǣmyrgean* in Leechdoms, iii. 30 (Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

Iping (aipiŋ, E).

1095 Epinges, D.B. i. 29 b.
1283 Ipinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1330 Ipyng, ibid. ii. p. 29.
1411–2 Ypyng, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 134.

Possibly O.E. *Ipingas*, "descendants of Ipa." I have only found one instance of this pers. n. in a charter, C.D. No. 1281, *Ipan lea.*

Iridge Place (airidž, E).

1251 Irrigeham maner', Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 71.
1633–4 Iredge, Vist. Ssx. p. 106.

Most probably simply O.E. *īēghrycg*, "ridge of land near the marsh."

Isfield.

1284 Isefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 116.
1313 Isfeude, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 240.
1331 Isefeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 41.
1349 Isefeld, ibid. p. 154.
1386 Isefeld, ibid. iii. p. 88.
1411–2 Ysefeld, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 141.

O.E. *īsig feld*, "icy field." The medial *-e-* in the early forms is all that remains of the O.E. adjectival suffix *-ig*. Note the Norman-French diphthongising of *-e-* to *-eu-* in the 1313 *Isfeude* above. See O.E. *feld* in Pt II.

Itchenor, West.

683 Iccanore (Lat.), C.D. v. p. 33.
957 Icchenor, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1085 Icenore, D.B. i. 17 b, 24 a.
1187 Chienore, Fr. Ch. No. 928, p. 331.
1280 Westichenore, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 73.
1329 Ichenore, ibid. ii. p. 25.
1337 Ichenore, ibid. p. 79.
1346 Esthichenore, ibid. p. 136.
1428 Est Ychenore, F.A. v. p. 164.

The first element is an O.E. pers. n. *Icca*, but Searle quotes as the only instance of *Icca* the C.D. form (1) above. The early forms make it certain that the second element is O.E. *ōra*, "bank," "shore." Many pl.-ns. ending in *-or* have as their second element O.E. *ōfer*, "bank of a river," or even O.E. *hofer*, "a hill," literally "a hump or swelling." On O.E. *hofer* see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns.; for *ōfer* cf. *Bignor* above.

Itchingfield.

1260–70 Hecchingfeld, Hechingfeld } Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls, p. 557.
1580 Hechingfeilde, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 402.

The above spellings, if they really represent the Sussex *Itchingfield*, throw no certain light. The first element may be (1) O.E. *Icca*, the pers. n. discussed under *Itchenor* above, or (2) O.E. *Ecca* (with fronted *-ċċ-*) for which see *Echinham* above.

Jevington.

1274 Gewinton, H.R. ii. p. 206.
1284 Yeverington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 116. } Jevington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1302–3 Gevyngeton, F.A. v. p. 130.
1314 Jevington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
1325 Gevyngeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 324.
1335 Jevyngton, ibid. ii. p. 67.
1349 Gevington, ibid. ii. p. 154.
1411–2 Jevynton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.
1422 Jevington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 70.
1438 Gevyngton, ibid. p. 193.

O.E. *Gefantūn*, "the tūn of *Gefa*." Cf. such names as *Gefwine*, *Gefwulf* in Searle. The modern form, and the early forms cited above, show substitution of initial *dž-* for the usual *Y-* from O.E. front *Ġ-*. On this sporadic development of *ġ-* to *dž-* see Wyld's article in *Olia Merseiana* (Liverpool) ii. pp. 129–42. Among other instances occur *jicks*, "hiccough" and *jallow*, "yellow" in W. Cornw. (Wyld, loc. cit.). Thus the normal English development of O.E. *Gefantūn* would have been

* *Yevington* (jɛviŋtən). For other examples of this change see Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence, pp. 57 ff.

Or possibly, *Jevington* may be from O.E. *Gefwinetun*, where *-(w)ine- > -in- > -ing-*.

Keymer, and Keymer Urban (kɑimə).

1. 1085 Chemere, D.B. i. 27 a.
2. 1107–18 Kiemella, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
3. 1269 Kynore? Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 100.
4. 1274 Kynnore? H.R. ii. p. 212.
5. 1278 Kymere, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
6. 1315 Kymere, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
7. 1325 Chemarsh, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 157.
8. 1346 Kymer, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 137.
9. 1416 Kymer, ibid. iv. p. 27.

One is tempted to assume as the first element O.E. *cȳ*, plu. of *cū*, "a cow," although M.E. *ī* for O.E. *ȳ* is not usual in Sussex. I cannot make anything satisfactory out of Nos. 3 and 4 unless they are scribal errors for **Kymore* (*n*, *nn* written for *m*). No. 7 shows a new second element, O.E. *mersc*, "marsh" (q.v. Pt II).

If this assumption be correct, the *-ey-* represents a tense (*ē*), the Kt. vowel for O.E. *ȳ* (= *ū* + *i*), those in *y*, of course, represent (*ī*), the Midland type, which is preserved in the modern local pronunciation (kɑimə).

The second element is probably O.E. *mere*, "lake," "pond."

The meaning then is "drinking-pond for cows." This sounds quite plausible.

Kingsham.

1393 Kyngesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 178.
1411–2 Kynggisham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.
1414 Kyngesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 8.
1428 Kyngesham, F.A. v. p. 157.

O.E. *Cyningeshām*, "the king's enclosure." See both these elements in Pt II.

Kingston, Kingston-by-Sea, Kingston Urban.

1085 Chingestone (Chingestune), D.B. i. 26 b, 28 b.
1121 Chingestona, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1200 Kingeston, Abbr. Plac. p. 32.
1224 Kingeston, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 484.
1278 Kyngeston, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Kyngeston, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 301.
1312 Kingestone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 252.
circa 1320 Kyngeston, T. de N. p. 224.
1386 Kingeston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 83.
1434 Kingeston, ibid. iv. p. 159.

O.E. *Cyninges tūn*, "the king's town."

Kirdford.

1278 Kenredeford, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1310 Kenrodeford, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 422.
1379 Kerredeford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 27.
1411–2 Kyrdeford, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137
1430 Kerdeforde
1434 Kurdeforde
1566 Kyrdeford
} Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 422.
1633–4 Kerford, Vist. Ssx. p. 106.

The first element is the O.E. pers. n. *Cēnrēd*. The development of the modern name is interesting. O.E. *Cēnrēd(es)fora* > M.E. *Kĕnredeford* > by assimilation *Kerredeford* > Mod. (kɑ̄dfəd). The assimilated form first occurs above in 1379.

Knepp Castle.

1315 Knappe, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
1325 Knappe, ibid. p. 284, and Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 327.
1327 Cnappe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 14.
1361 Knape, ibid. ii. p. 239.
1386 Knappe, ibid. iii. p. 83.

O.E. *cnæpp*, "top," "cop," "small hill." See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under this element in Pt II.

The modern (nɛp) shows the Kt. or Southern vowel *-e-* for

W.S. *-æ-*, whereas all the M.E. forms above have *-a-*, the M.E. Midland type.

Lancing, North, South, and Upper. Lancing Downs.

Type I.

circa 900 Wlencing (pers. n.), A.-S. Chron. Parker MS. (A), anno 477, p. 14; ibid. Land MS. (E), p. 15.
1085 Lancinges, D.B. i. 29 a.
circa 1320 Langinges, Lazinges, T. de N. p. 222.
1361 Lanceyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 240.

Type II.

1274 Launcyng, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278 Launcinges, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.
1316 Launcing, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 252.
1377 Launsynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 1.
1432 Launcynge, ibid. iv. p. 151.
1503 Launsyng, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. B 1835, p. 237.

Simply originally O.E. *Wlencing*, a pers. n. The second element, whatever it may have been, had been lost already in O.E. Earle, on p. 12 of vol. ii. of the A.-S. Chron., says in a note that *Wlencing* came over with *Ælla*, founder of the South Saxons, and gave his name to the place where he landed.

The late O.E. form of the name must have been **Wlancing* (preserving the fronted (*ċ*), through the influence of the independent adjective *wlanc*, "proud," "imperious").

This is Type I above, the ancestor of the modern (lānsiŋ), with N.-Fr. substitution of *-c-* (= *s*) for *-ch-* (= *tʃ*). Type II shows M.E. (Norman-French?) diphthongising of *a-* to *au-* before *-n*, and would be the precursor of a pronunciation (lōnsiŋ).

On the substitution of N.-Fr. (*s*) for Engl. (*tʃ*) see *Cissbury Hill* above, *Ticehurst* below, and the section on "Norman-French Influence" in Phonology ante.

Langley, Langley Font, and Langley Point.

Type I.

1085 Langelie, D.B. i. 22 a.
1487 Langley, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 387.

Type II.

1248 Langeney, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 67.
1325 Langene, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1558 Langeney, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 48, p. 365.

Type I is O.E. *lang lēāh*, "long meadow," and the ancestor of the modern form. Type II, if it really represents the same name, is O.E. *æt lāngan ēā*, "by the long water-meadow." O.E. *lēāh* meant "meadow," "pasture land," and O.E. *ēā* (*-ey* (2) in Pt II) meant a "watery meadow" or "marsh land."

The development of Type II is O.E. (*æt*) *lānganēā* > *lāngnēā* (syncopation) > M.E. *lăngnee*. Otherwise O.E. *lāng* > mod. *long* (= loŋ). See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Langtree*.

Laughton (lāftn).

Type I.

1. 1085 Lestone, D.B. i. 19 a, b, 22 a.
   Lestun, D.B. i. 26 a.
2. 1228 Lechton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 205.
3. 1239 Leihton, ibid. p. 56.
4. 1246 Lecton, ibid. p. 63.
5. 1293 Lecton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 122.

Type II.

1. 1296 Laughton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 145.
2. temp. Edw. I Laghtone, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 41.
3. 1304 Lagton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 202.
4. 1338 Laughton, ibid. ii. p. 87.
5. 1349 Laughton, ibid. ii. p. 160.
6. 1359 Laghton, ibid. ii. p. 214.
7. *1366 Lagthon*, ibid. ii. p. 275.
8. 1377 Laghton, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 10, p. 35.
9. 1411–2 Laughton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 134.
10. 1633–4 Laughton, Vist. Ssx. p. 44.

O.E. **lēāhtūn*, late O.E. **lǣhtūn*, "vegetable garden."

Type I is O.E. *lēāctūn* > **lēhtūn* > M.E. **lĕhtun* > *leihtun* > mod. **Leighton* (leitn). See *Leighton* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., and in Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns.; the latter also takes O.E. *lēāc*, "leek," as the first element.

Type II shows a different development—O.E. *lǣhtūn* > M.E. **lăhtun* > **lauhton* by *-u-* diphthongising of *-a-* before the following back *-h-*. The modern spelling and the "polite" pronunciation of the name are descended from this **lauhtun* type, seen in Type II, Nos. (1), (4), (5), (9), and (10) above.

The local pronunciation (læftn) is from the undiphthongised forms, Type II, Nos. (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) above.

Lavington, East and West (see Woolavington).

Type I.

1085 Levitone, D.B. i. 17 b.
1314 Estlevente, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.

Type II.

1121 louentona, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1212 Lovinton, Abbr. Plac. p. 86.
1274 Loveton (Estlovinton), H.R. ii. p. 211.
1305 Midlovente, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 205.
circa 1320 Lovinton (Westlovinton), T. de N. pp. 223, 229.
1332 Mydlovent, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 49.
1411–2 lovente, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

The first element is a pers. n., either *Lufa* (masc.) or *Lufu* (fem.), for both of which Searle gives good authority. *Lufandun* occurs in C.D. v. p. 103 and refers to Somers. *Lovington.* Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., takes O.E. *Lufu* as the first element of the Worcs. *Lovington.*

The Sussex name, then, is O.E. **Lufantūn*, which would normally develop into mod. (lavɪŋtən). The form *Lavington* (lævɪŋtən) is due to the influence of the name *Woolavington*, a town only a little to the west of *Lovington.* Hence the popular etymology *West Lavington* for *Woolavington* (= **Wulflāfantūn*) and the substitution of this new *Lavington* for the normally developed *Lovington.* See *Woolavington* below.

The forms in Type I probably represent O.E. **Lēōfantūn.* *Lēōfa* is well-authenticated in O.E., and is of course in ablaut relation to *Lufa.*

Lewes (lūis, lūs).

961 Læwes (Latin acc. to *iuxta*), C.D. vi. p. 46.
960–3 Læwe (English dat. to *wið*), C.D. ii. p. 388.
1085 Lewes, D.B. i. 16 b (bis), 17 a and passim.
1158–9 Lewis, Pipe Rolls, vol. i. p. 61.
temp. John Lewes, Abbr. Plac. p. 69. 1268 Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32. 1274 H.R. ii. pp. 201, 208, 209. 1278 Plac. de quo War. pp. 751, 761.
about 1320 Lewes, T. de N. p. 226.
1325 Lewis, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 207.
1335 Lewes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 68.
1377 Lewes, ibid. p. 359.
1478–80 Lewis, Lewes, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 204.

Probably simply O.E. *hlāwas*, plu. of *hlā(w)*, "a mound," "tumulus." The ordinary plural of *hlāw* is *hlāwas*; *hlāwas* is due to analogy of the singular. The absence of an initial *h-* in the C.D. forms above is rather a difficulty, but in O.E. charters, especially the later ones, many peculiar forms are found. In fact many of the so-called early charters are pure forgeries by later scribes, since they often include purely M.E. forms. See the C.D. forms of *Selsey* below, and see *hlāw* in Pt II.

Lidsey.

692 Lydesige, C.D. v. p. 36.
957 Ludesey, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1294 Lydeseye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 123.

The 957 form above would seem to be O.E. *Ludesēg*, where *Lude* is a well-authenticated pers. n. (see Searle). But the other forms and the modern (lidzi) point to a name containing *y*, possibly **Lyde*, a hypothetical mutated form of *Lude*. See *-ey* in Pt II.

Linch, Lynch.

Type I.

1085 Lince, D.B. i. 23 a.
1194 Linces, Abbr. Plac. p. 4.
1283 Linche, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1294 Lynche, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1315 Linche, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.

1349 Lynche, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 162.
1421 Lynche, ibid. iv. p. 61.

Type II.

1428 Lenche, F.A. v. p. 165.

O.E. *hlinċ*, "slope," "ridge" (cf. modern "golf-*links*"). Type II goes back to a by-form O.E. *hlenċ* < **χlaŋki-*, from a different ablaut-grade. See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Coupe Lench.*

Lindfield.

765 Lindefeldia, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 280.
1253 Lindesfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1274 Lindefeld, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1278 Lyndefend, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1293 Lindefeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 233.
1296 Lyndefeld, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 306.
1366 Lyndefeld, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 160.
1409 Lindefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1496 Lynfeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 451.

The first element is O.E. *lind*, *linde*, "a lime-tree, "linden," "sens," "tilia" (B.-T.); cf. O.H.G. *linta*, M.H.G. *linde*.

The second is the common O.E. *feld* (q.v. Pt II).

Littlehampton.

1274 Hampton, H.R. ii. pp. 213, 214.
1278 Hampton, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1333 Hampton, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 296.
1492 Lyttelhampton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 411.

O.E. *hāmtūn* > M.E. *hămtun* > (hæmtn).

The *Little-* is a later M.E. addition. See *Easthampnett* above, and *Westhampnett* below.

Lodsworth.

1165–6 Lodeswurda, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1274 Loddeswrth, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1303 Loddesworthe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 187.
1316 Loddesworthe, F.A. v. p. 141.

The first element is possibly the same O.E. pers. n. *Lude* as discussed under *Lidsey* above. Or it may be O.E. *Hlōþ*, a shortened form of some name like *Hlōþhere*, or *Hlōþgār* (for the latter see *Lurgashall* below). The second element is O.E. *weorþ* (q.v. Pt II). If O.E. *Lude* is the first element, the above *o* spellings are purely graphic, and the modern (lodzwəþ) a spelling-pronunciation.

Lordington.

1085 Lodintone (Lodivtone), D.B. i. 22 a.
1213 Lerdeton, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
early 14th cent. Lurdyngton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 486.
1369 Lurdyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 297.
1411–2 Lordyton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
1428 Lurdynton, F.A. v. p. 164.
temp. Hen. VI Lerdytone, Tax. Eccl. p. 135.
1633–4 Lerdington, Vist. Ssx. p. 89.

I cannot find any O.E. word or pers. n. for the first element. It certainly is not O.E. *hlāford*, which occurs in early M.E. variously as (*h*)*lāverd*, *lōverd*, *lōerde*, etc. (see Strat-Bradl. M.E. Dict.).

Nor can I find any pers. n. **Hlyrd-* or **Lyrd-*, which would account for the *e*, *o*, and *u* spellings above.

The second element is certainly O.E. *tūn*, q.v. Pt II.

Lowfield Heath.

1274 Lowesfeud, H.R. ii. p. 210.
1278 Lofeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1283 Lofeud, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 426.

Probably O.E. **hlā-feld*, "field of the mound." O.E. *hlā*(*w*) arose from the nominative *hlǣ*(*w*) through analogy of the plu. type *hlāwas*.

The 1274 form *Lowesfeud* does not necessarily point to a pers. n. as the first element; it probably represents the O.E. compound **hlāwesfeld*. See *hlǣw* in Pt II.

Lullington.

Type I.

880–5 Lullingmynstre, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Lolinminstre, D.B. i. 24 b, 28 a.

Type II.

temp. Edw. I Lullintun, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 33.

If the forms under Type I represent this name, the second element has been altered from O.E. *-mynstre* (q.v. Pt II) to O.E. *-tūn*. The first element is a well-known pers. n., O.E. *Lulla*. See *Lullington* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

Lurgashall, Lurgershall (ladžəʃɔ̄l).

1. 1136 Letegareshale, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510.
2. 1428 Lodegarsale, F.A. v. p. 168.
3. 1471 Lurgashall, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 490.

"Hlōþgar's corner," O.E. (*æt*) *Hlōþgares hāle* (*halh*). The modern (-ɔ̄l), of course, is not normally descended from the O.E. dative *hāle*, but has been developed from the M.E. shortened (unstressed) *-(h)ăle*, as in No. 1 above.

The *Letegareshale*, No. 1 above, is probably the error of a Norman scribe. The modern pronunciation (ladžəʃɔ̄l) is normal, but I cannot explain the spelling *Lurgashall*.

Lydhurst.

1343 Lyndhurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 113.

The evidence is scanty; the above form seems to have as its first element O.E. *lind*(*e*), "lime-tree" (q.v. under *Lindfield* above), whereas the modern name has *Lyd-*, which may be the O.E. pers. n. **Lyde* (q.v. under *Lidsey* above). The second element is O.E. *hyrst*, "wood."

Lyminster.

1250 Limestre, Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls, p. 580.
1311 Leonemunster, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 145.
1321 Lenemenstre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 299.
1342 Leneminstre, ibid. ii. p. 107.

1397 Leonemenstr, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 227.
1411–2 Leomynstr, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
1421 Lynemenstr, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 60.
1428 Lunemenstre, Lenemenstre, F.A. v. pp. 154, 167.
1633–4 Lemyster, Vist. Ssx. p. 7.

"*Leo's minster.*" A Pope *Leo III* who reigned (795–816) is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron., and Leo VII (936–9) in Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 732.

I take the *Leone-*, *Lene-* forms above to contain as their first element Latin *Leon-* an oblique case of *Leo.*

The 1250 *Limestre* and the 1421 *Lynemenstr* must have been influenced by the English word *lion* (also used as a pers. n.), which was borrowed from Norman-French. The development was *Leoneminstr* > *Lion(e)minster* > *Lionminster*, and by assimilation of *nm* to *-m-* > modern (lɑiminstə). See *mynster* in Pt II.

Madehurst.

1411–2 Madherst, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
1423 Madehurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 81.

"Mada's wood," O.E. *Madanhyrst.* Duignan had assumed an O.E. (unrecorded) *Mad*, *Mada* to explain *Madeley* in Staffs., and given references to Ssx. *Madehurst*, Cambs. *Madingley* and Heref. *Madley.* The name *Mada* appears, however, in Cart. Sax. No. 1312 in the pl.-n. *Madanleah*, which is the very form that Duignan needed.

Malling (mōliŋ).

838 æt Mallingum, Cott. MS. Ang. ii. 20, 21, 27; cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 497.
1085 Mellinges H., D.B. i. 16 a, 16 b.
1121 Melling, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 14.
temp. John Mauling, Abbr. Plac. p. 94.
1274 Suthmalling, H.R. ii. pp. 207, 219.
1293 Suthmallinges, Abbr. Plac. p. 233.
1343 South Malling, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 177.
1359 South Mallyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 212.
1366 Mallyngg, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 160.

Malling (Kent) is *Meallingas* in C.D. i. p. 318 (No. 240, anno 838), also *Mallingum* in the same ch. and *Meallingas* in C.D. ii. p. 265 (No. 409, anno 946). It seems that the first element is an O.E. pers. n. Searle records *Mælanbeorh* from C.D. No. 1008, Cart. Sax. No. 622, and a *Mældun* is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron. anno 913. Possibly this *Mæl-* (if the *æ* be short) is the first element in *Malling*, but there are no O.E. names in **Mæll-*, **Meall-*, with double *-l*.

Marden, East, North, and West and Upmarden.

Type I.

936? Upmerdone, C.D. ii. p. 203.
1085 Meredone, D.B. i. 24 a (ter).
1314 Merdone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1316 Northmerdon, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
about 1320 Merdon, T. de N. p. 222.
1411–2 Westmerdon, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

Type II.

1302 Westmerden, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 182.
1345 Westmorden, ibid. ii. p. 129.

The first element may be either O.E. (*ge*)*mǣru*, "a boundary," or O.E. *mere*, "a lake," "pond." See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Marland* and *Marton*. Type I has the second element O.E. *dūn*, Type II has *denu*. For a similar interchange, cf. *Findon* above and *Playden* below.

Maresfield.

1316 Mersefelde, F.A. v. p. 139.
1322 Marsefeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 432.
1325 Marsefeld, ibid. i. p. 328.
1372 Marsfeld, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 12, and Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, p. 28.
1411–2 Marsefeld, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.
temp. Hen. VI Marsefeud, Tax. Eccl. p. 137.

The first element is probably O.E. *mersc*, "a marsh." The above forms, and the modern name show the Norman-French substitution of *-s-* for English *-sh-* (=*ʃ*). See Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence, pp. 18 ff.

See O.E. *feld* in Pt II.

Marsham.

1289 Mersham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 120.

The first element is probably O.E. *mersc*, uninfluenced by Norman-French, and developing normally into modern (māʃ-). See preceding name.

Maundling, Maudlin (mɔ̄dlin).

1411–2 Maudelayn, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 139.

This name doubtless preserves the saint's name *Magdalene*. Bardsley quotes early forms 1275 *Maudeleyn, Maudlin*, 1562 *Mawdelyn*.

Mayfield.

1260 Magefeud, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 90.
1274 Maghfeud, H.R. ii. pp. 207, 219.
1316 Maghefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
1343 Maghefeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 311.
1366 Maghfeld, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 161.
1391–3 Maghfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 192.
1633–4 Mafeild, Vist. Ssx. p. 90.

O.E. *mǣgfeld*, "the field of the Virgin." O.E. *mǣg* meant "a woman," "maiden," and here refers to the Blessed Virgin. See *Maghull* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Merston.

1274 Merston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1302 Merschtone, ibid. p. 182.
1352 Mershtone, ibid. ii. p. 173.
1396 Merston, ibid. iii. p. 197.
1414 Mershton, ibid. iv. p. 7.

O.E. *mersctūn*, "marshy enclosure" > M.E. *mershtun* > *merstun* (N.-Fr. influence *ſ* > *s*, cf. *Maresfield* above). The 1302, 1352, and 1414 spellings make the etymology fairly certain. See Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., under *Marston*.

Michelgrove.

Type I.

1278 Michelgrove, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 66.
circa 1320 Michelg've, T. de N. p. 222.
1320 Michelgrave, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 261.
1399 Michelgrove, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 270.

Type II.

1301 Muchelgrove, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 173.
1312 Muchelgrave, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 235.
1432 Mochelgrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 151.

O.E. *miċele grāf*, "the great grove." The second element has developed, side by side with the independent word "grove," from O.E. dative *grāfe*. Type II is O.E. (W.-S.) *myċelgrāfe* > M.E. *muchelgrōve* (Sthn. form) > mod. (*matʃəlgrōuv or *mɪatʃəlgrəv). Cf. O.E. *grāf* in Pt II, and cf. *Micklefield*, *Micklethwaite* in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns.

Middleton.

1085 Middeltone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1204 Middelton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 20.
1274 Middilton, H.R. ii. pp. 205, 207, 208.
1278 Middelton, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1310 Middelton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 240.
1313 Middeltone, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 240.
1315 Middleton, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.

Simply O.E. *middel-tūn*, "the middle town."

Midhurst (midəst).

1274 Midhurst, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1278 Middehurst, Midhurst } Plac. de quo War. pp. 752, 762.
circa 1320 Midherst, T. de N. p. 222.

1320 Midhurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 242.
1323 Midhurste, Abbr. Plac. p. 343.
1419 Midhurst, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 374.

Simply O.E. *midde hyrst* or *middhyrst*. O.E. *hyrst* as a second element is normally pronounced in modern names as (-əst).

Milton Hide, Milton Street.

about 1320 Mildetun, T. de N. p. 227, § 83.

Possibly O.E. *middel-tun* > by metathesis **mildtun* > (miltən). Skeat explains the Berks. *Milton* thus.

On the other hand the first element may be a pers. n. **Milda*, with which cf. *Mildburh*, *Mildfriþ* in Searle and *Milda* "libera femina" in Ellis, Introd. D.B. ii. 186. For a *Milton* whose early forms are quite different from the above, see Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., sub nomine.

Minsted.

1314 Myntestede, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.

Probably O.E. *mintestede*, "the mint place." O.E. *mint* is a loan-word from Lat. *mentha*. For the second element see *stede* in Pt II.

Miswell.

772 meoswille, meoswylle } Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 296 (No. 208).
1085 Mesewelle, D.B. i. 22 b.

The first element is O.E. *mēōs*, "moss." The Mod. spelling represents an Early Mod. shortening of (mīz-) from M.E. (mēz-). Cf. (britʃiz), earlier (brītʃiz) from *breech* (ē). For the second, see O.E. *well, wiell* in Pt II.

Monks.

1316 Monekesy, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 253.
1317 Monekeseye, ibid. p. 254.

Probably O.E. *muneces ēā* or *muneces ēg*, "the 'island' or 'water-meadow' of the monk." The modern (maŋks) shows a total loss of the second element.

Morley.

1309 Morle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 237.
1339 Marle, ibid. ii. p. 92.
1388 Morle, ibid. iii. p. 102.
1417 Morle, ibid. iv. p. 28.

Either O.E. *mōrlēāh* or (*ge*)*mār*(*e*)*lēāh*, where *gemāre* is an unmutated form of *gemǣru*, "a boundary." See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Moreton*, and for *gemāre* see remarks under *Hoathley* above.

Moulsecombe.

1121 molescumba, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1278 Molescombe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1283 Molecumbe, Abbr. Plac. p. 206.
1296 Molscumbe, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 295.

The first element is probably a pers. n. *Moll*, for which Searle gives good authority. I have found it, for example, in Cart. Sax. No. 184. The modern (maulskm) is due to M.E. diphthongising of *-ol-* to *-ou-*. For this diphthongising, cf. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Phonology, p. 23, also under *Cowburg* and *Cowford*, and Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., under *Cowling Hill* and *Cowthorpe*.

Skeat takes the first element of Berks. *Moulsford* to be O.E. *mūl* (< Lat. *mūlus*), "mule," or *Mūl* as a pers. n.

Mountfield.

1085 Montifelle, D.B. i. 18 b.
1294 Mundfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1313 Mundefeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 238.
1316 Mundefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
1326 Maundefeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 334.
1351 Mondefeld, ibid. ii. p. 170.

Possibly O.E. **muntefeld*, "the field containing a hill *or* mount." All the M.E. forms have *Mund-*, *Munde-* (*Maund-* in 1326 is due to some analogy, perhaps that of *Maundlyng*, q.v.). This *Mund*(*e*)- points to such an O.E. pers. n. as *Mund* or *Munda*, both of which are well-authenticated; see Searle.

I take O.E. **Mundanfeld* to be the original form, and explain D.B. *Montifelle* and the modern name as due to Norman scribes, who substituted French *munt-* for English *Mundan-*.

Mundham, North and South.

680? Mundanham (oðer Mundanham), C.D. i. p. 23; also Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 529.
683? Mundham, C.D. v. p. 33.
957 Mondeham, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1085 Mundrehā, D.B. i. 24 a.
1274 Mundham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1343 North Mundham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 312.
1409 Suthmundham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 331.

O.E. *Mundanhām*, "Munda's homestead." The first element is the pers. n. *Munda* referred to under the preceding name; for the second see O.E. *hām* in Pt II. The D.B. *Mundreham* is probably a scribal error, since the form in *-r-* is not found elsewhere. Otherwise it might represent the pers. n. *Mundhere*.

Netherfield.

Type I.

1085 Nedrefelle, D.B. i. 18 b.
1250 Nedrefeld, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. B 2974, p. 354.
1270 Nedrefeud, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 102.
1274 Neddrefeld, H.R. ii. p. 216.
1278 Neddrefeud, Plac. de quo War. pp. 756, 759.
1302 Nedrefeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 296.
1316 Naddrefelde, F.A. v. p. 133.
1339, 1341 Nadderfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. pp. 92, 100.
1487 Nederfeld, ibid. iv. p. 384.

Type II.

1479 Netherfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 476.

The oldest forms seem to point to an O.E. **nǣddran feld*, "adder field," and this is confirmed by the frequency of the spellings with *-dd-*. Although Norman scribes often wrote *-d-* for *-th-*, we should expect spellings with *-th-* in the 13th and

14th centuries, had the first element been O.E. *neoþor*, "lower," as would appear from the modern form and from Type II.

It seems probable that the name was originally **nēddran feld*, and that the *Nether-* forms were due to popular etymology. In most names containing *Nether-* as the first element, this stands for O.E. *neoþor*; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Netherlee*, and Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., under *Netherton*.

(Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 87) takes O.E. *niþerra-* as the first element, and considers Type I above to be due to N.-Fr. substitution of *d* for *th*. But I consider that the numerous *Neddre-*, *Naddre-* spellings cannot admit of this explanation.)

Newbridge.

1278 de Novo Ponte, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.

The above translates a M.E. (*of*) *nēwe(n)bridge*, or *nēwe(n)-brugge* most probably in Sussex. See O.E. *nīwe* and *brycg* in Pt II.

Newick.

1107–18 Niwicha, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1278 Newyk, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1316 Nywike, F.A. v. p. 136.
1593 Newycke, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 539.
See O.E. *nīwe* and *wīc* in Pt II.

Newtimber.

1283 Newtimbre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1302 Neutymbre, ibid. p. 182.
1411–2 Newtymber, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
1432 Neutimbre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 140.
O.E. *nīwe timber*. See both elements in Pt II.

Ninfield.

1. 1278 Nyneynefeld, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
2. 1279 Nimesfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
3. 1320 Nemefeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
4. 1475 Nenfeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 544.

The 1278 form above seems to have as its first element the saint's name *Ninian*, which appears in Bede's Eccl. Hist. in the form *Nynias*, i.e. in Bk iii. cap. iv. (p. 133 in Plummer's Ed. vol. i.). Nos. 3 and 4 above have the by-form *Nennius* (on which see Plummer, vol. ii. (Notes) p. 128).

The second element is O.E. *feld*, q.v. Pt II.

Northiam (nɔ̄dʒəm).

1274 Northyham, H.R. ii. p. 218.
1303 Northihame, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 195.
1320 Northyham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
1411–2 Northyhame, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 142.
1578 Northyham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 551.

The medial *-y-* in the above forms is all that remains of the O.E. *-an-* in *æt þæm norþan hāme*. See O.E. *norþ* and *hām* in Pt II.

See *Northicote* in Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns.

Norton.

1274 Norton, Abbr. Plac. p. 187.
Northt', H.R. ii. p. 207.
1294 Norton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 127.
1296 Northetun, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 300.
1306 Norton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 138.

O.E. *norþtūn*. O.E. *-þt-* > M.E. *-tt-* by assimilation > *-t-* in the modern pronunciation. For similar assimilations see *Sutton* below, *Norwood* below, and *Smithdown* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Norwood.

1313 Northewode, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 253.
1348 Northwode, ibid. ii. p. 149.
1397 Northwode, ibid. iii. p. 227.

O.E. *norþwudu*. The *-þ-* disappears in M.E. after *-r-* and before *-w-*. For other examples of loss of *-þ-* after *-r-* and before a cons. see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., pp. 32, 33.

See *norþ* and *wudu* in Pt II.

Nutbourne.

1263 Nulburne (= Nut-), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 92.
1274 Nutburne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1274 Nudburn (Notborn), H.R. ii. p. 215.
1302 Notbourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 182.
1307 Nutteburne, ibid. p. 228.
circa 1320 Nutburn (Nudburn), T. de N. p. 222.
1438 Neteborne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 193.

O.E. *hnut(u)burna*, "the brook by the nut-tree."

The *Nud-* spellings above (1274 and 1320), if genuine, show a perfectly natural voicing of *-t-* to *-d-* before the following *-b-*. This would give rise to a modern (*nadbən) or even (*nabən). See O.E. *hnutu* and *burna* in Pt II.

Nuthurst.

1288 Nutthurst, Abbr. Plac. p. 218.
1361 Nothurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 240.
1395 Nutherst, ibid. iii. p. 188.
1443 Notehurst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 560.

O.E. *hnut(u)hyrst.* Cf. preceding name.

Nyetimber.

960 Nitimbre, Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 40, cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 541.
1085 Nitmbrehā, D.B. i. 24 b.
1283 Nitimbre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 83.
1284–5 Nytymbur, F.A. v. p. 129.
1296 Nytymbre, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 293.
1367 Nytimbre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 279.
1382 Nytymbre, ibid. iii. p. 53.
1471 Nitimbre, ibid. iv. p. 316.

The Ind. Ch. and Rolls identifies the 960 form above with *Newtimber* (q.v. above), but phonetically it must represent *Nyetimber*. The O.E. *nīwe*, *nēwe* < Gmc. **neuji* (cf. Gk. νεός < *νέϝος, Lat. *novus*) never appeared in O.E. in the form **nīge*, although an adverb *nīge* is well-authenticated (see B.-T.). This *nīge* may have been formed from *nīwe* on the analogy of such pairs as

hweowol, hweogol, where the *-g-* and *-w-* represent different O.E. treatments of Pr.-Gmc. *-ɣʷ-*. Once the adverbial form *nīge* had become well established, it may have given rise to a new adj. **nīge*, but B.-T. cites no instances of the adjectival use of the word.

In this case O.E. **nīgetimber* has exactly the same meaning as *nīwe-*, *nēwetimber* (*Newtimber*), the difference being that the former develops normally to (nɑitimbə), the latter to (njūtimbə).

Oakendean.

1460 Okynden, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 318.

O.E. *ācen denu*. O.E. *ācen* is the adjective to *āc*; see this element in Pt II.

Offham.

1085 Offhā, D.B. i. 25 a.
1203 Offham, Abbr. Plac. p. 42.
1302 Ofham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 180.
1314 Ofham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 240.
1422 Offeham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 71.

The first element is the O.E. pers. n. *Offa*, well-known as the name of the first king of the East Angles in the late 6th cent. Cf. *Offington* below, and *Offord* (< O.E. **Offanweorþe*) in Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns.

Offington House.

1085 Ofintune, D.B. i. 28 b.
12–13 cent. Offentun (1285 Offytun), Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 563.
1317 Offington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 152.
1361 Offington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 240.
1515 Offyngton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 563.

O.E. *Offantūn*, "the tūn of Offa." See preceding name.

Oldcourt (= Oldlands Hall ?).

1289 Veillecourt, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 120.
1315 Ealdecourt, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.

1318 Oldcourt, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 153.
1324 Eldecourte, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 278.

This name is self-explanatory. I cannot find an **Oldcourt* on the modern maps. Possibly it is the place now called *Oldlands Hall.*

Ore.

1085 Orne, D.B. i. 22 a (bis).
1121–5 Ora, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 566.
incerto tempore Hen. III Orres, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1253 Ore, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1307 Ore, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 222.
1317 Ore, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1372 Ore, ibid. ii. p. 317.
1633–4 Ore, Vist. Ssx. p. 9.

O.E. *ōra*, "a bank," "shore." See *Bognor* and *Itchenor* above, and *ōra* in Pt II. I cannot explain the *-n-* in the D.B. form above.

Otham.

temp. John Otteham, Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls, p. 576.
1274 Otteham, H.R. ii. p. 219.
1278 Otteham, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1311 Otteham, Abbr. Plac. p. 313.
1328 Otteham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.
1428 Otteham, F.A. v. p. 172.

"The homestead of Otta," O.E. **Ottanhām.* There is an O.E. pl.-n. *Ottanforda* in C.D. No. 230. Similar pers. ns. occur fairly frequently in the same collection of chs. *Otteford*, No. 1093, *Otanhyrst*, Nos. 198, 409, *Otansihtre*, No. 179.

See O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Oving (ūviŋ).

1316 Ovynge, F.A. v. p. 141.
1342 Ovyngg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 107.
1414 Ovyng alias Evyng, ibid. iv. p. 8.
1419 Onyng (miswritten for Ovyng), ibid. iv. p. 40.

Possibly O.E. **Ōfan inge*, "the meadow of Ōfa," a name found as that of a witness in Cart. Sax. No. 32. When we find M.E. forms in *-ingg(e)*, we are, I think, justified in assuming

O.E. *inge* (with front *ġ*), since the "patronymic" *-ing(s)* had the back-stop *g* in all periods. The modern pronunciation (ūviŋ) points to an O.E. form with long *ō*. Unfortunately no diacritics exist to confirm this.

See O.E. *ing*, *inge* in Pt II.

Ovingdean.

1100–23 Ouingdene, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 572.
1273 Ovyngedenn, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 426.
1343 Ovyngden, ibid. ii. p. 110.
1402 Ovyngdene, ibid. iii. p. 284.
1439 Ovyngden, ibid. iv. p. 198.

The first element is probably the O.E. *Ōfa* referred to in the preceding name. For the second element see O.E. *denu* in Pt II.

Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., takes the first element of Yks. *Ovenden* to be O.E. *ufenan*, *ofenan*, "from above." The (*ū*) in the Sussex name precludes this explanation here.

Pagham.

1. 680? Pecganham, C.D. i. p. 23.
2. 1085 Pagehā, Pageham, D.B. i. 16 b.
3. 1120–2 pagheham, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 9, p. 17.
4. 1165–6 Pagehamhām, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
5. 1204 Pageham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 16.
6. incerto temp. Hen. III, Pageham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
7. 1251 Pageham, Early Stat. Chichr., Archæologia xlv. p. 213.
8. 1274 Pageham, H.R. ii. p. 211.
9. 1316 Pageham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
10. 1382 Pagham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 53.
11. 14th cent. Pagheham, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 137.

The C.D. form above points to an O.E. pers. n. **Pæcga* as the first element; cf. Searle.

Nos. (3) and (11) above seem to point to an O.E. variant **Paga* (with back *g*), i.e. O.E. **Paganhām* > M.E. *pageham* > modern (pægm). But this is conjectural. For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Parham.

1065–6 Pereham, Cott. MS. vi. 2, cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 577.
1085 Perham, D.B. i. 17 a, 24 b.
temp. John Perham, Abbr. Plac. p. 72.
1292 Perham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 116.
1331 Perham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 164.
1386 Perham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 84.
1633–4 Parham, Vist. Ssx. p. 24.

The first element is O.E. *pere* or *peru*, "a pear." Cf. *Perry Barr* in Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns. (O.E. *pirige*).

Pashley.

1302–3 Passelegh, F.A. v. p. 131.
1319 Passele, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1357 Passeley, Trans. Lat. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxvi. p. 177.
1381, 1399 Passhele, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. pp. 36, 259.
1452 Lytyl Passhelele, Great Passhle } Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 254.
1633–4 Pachley, Pashley } Vist. Ssx. pp. 105, 106.

Is this O.E. **Pæccanlēāh* > M.E. **Patchlei* (=pɑtʃlēⁱ) > (pɑʃlēⁱ) > (pæʃli)? On (tʃ) and (ʃ) see Zachrisson, pp. 156 ff., and for *Pæcca* cf. next name.

Patcham.

1278 Pecham, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Peccham, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 293.
1315 Pecham, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
1325 Pecham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1343 Peccham, ibid. ii. p. 110.
1416 Peccham, ibid. iv. p. 27.

O.E. **Pæccanhām*, "the homestead of **Pæcce* or **Pæcca*." This name is found in O.E. in the patronymic *Pæccingas*, C.D. ii. 360, for which see the next name. Duignan derives the Worcs. *Paxford* from O.E. **Pæccesford*, and **Pæcce*, he says, is "an unrecorded A.-S. pers. n. **Pæcc*, gen. **Pæcces*."

For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Patching.

947 Peccinges, C.D. ii. p. 273.
960 Pæccingas, C.D. ii. p. 360.
1006 Pæccingas, C.D. iii. p. 349.
1085 Petchinges, D.B. i. 16 b.
1364 Pacchyngge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 578.
1396 Petchinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 196.
1418 Patchyng, ibid. iv. p. 34.

Simply O.E. *Pæccingas*, "sons of Pæcce." This name is not otherwise recorded in O.E., but, says Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., under *Paxton*, p. 345, "it is otherwise known as explaining the place-name *Packington*." (O.E. *Pæċċe*)! See preceding name.

Peasmarsh.

1273 Pesemerse, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 53.
1279 Pesmershe, ibid. p. 70.
1303, 1309 Pesemersh, ibid. pp. 195, 237.
1411–2 Pesemersh, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 144.
1419 Pesemereshe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 40.

The first element is O.E. *pisa*, M.E. *pese*, pl. *pesen* (Latin *pisum*) = "peas." For the second element see O.E. *mersc* in Pt II. *Pease-* is the first element of Suffolk *Peasenhall*, and Berks. *Peasemore*, which is *Pesemere* in the Inq. P.M. p. 167. See *Peasemore* in Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns. M.E. *pēse*, if the *ē* is slack, as the spelling would indicate, goes back to O.E. *peosa* with *a-* umlaut of *-i-* to *-eo-*. If it is tense it represents the M.E. lengthening of *i* to *ē*, for which see Luick, Beiträge zur engl. Gramm. Anglia, xvi., xviii., xx.

Penhurst.

1085 Penehest, D.B. i. 17 b.
1319 Penherst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1341 Penhurst, ibid. ii. p. 100.
1412 Penherst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 583.

The first element may be O.E. *penn*, "a cattle-pen," or possibly the Celtic *penn-*, "head," "hillock." In the first case O.E. **pennhyrst* = "the wood by the cattle-pen" and in the second O.E. **penhyrst*, "the wood by the hillock." There is a *Penshurst* in Kent, where *Pen-* is probably a pers. n. See *pennos* in Holder, Altcelt. Sprachschatz.

Peppering.

725 Piperingas, C.D. v. p. 43.
1208 Piperinges, Abbr. Plac. p. 61.
1397 Peperynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Piperyng, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 132.
1422 Pipering, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 71.

The first element can hardly be O.E. *pipor*, "pepper," in its literal sense, but *Pepper* is a common English surname (originally a nickname?), and Kemble, C.D. Index, vol. vi., records another O.E. pers. n. *Pipernæss*, C.D. No. 737, where *Piper* seems to be a pers. n. See *-ing* in Pt II.

Petworth.

Type I.

1085 Peteorde, D.B. i. 23 b.
1135–50 Petawrda, Cott. MS. Nero C. iii. f. 188, cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls (p. 587).
1167–8 Petewurda, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 194.
1260 Pettewerth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 587.
1274 Petteworth, H.R. ii. p. 214.
1278 Petteworth, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1279 Petteworth, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.
1315 Petworth, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 247.
1318 Petteworth, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 292.
circa 1320 Pettewurth, T. de N. p. 222.
1330 Petteworthe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 37.
1399 Petworth, ibid. iii. p. 265.

Type II.

1274 Patteworth, H.R. ii. p. 214.

Type III.

1274 Pytteworth, H.R. ii. pp. 214, 215.

Type IV.

1284–5 Putteworth, F.A. v. p. 128.
1369 Putworthe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 300.
1539 Putteworth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 587.

The first element is probably the O.E. *pytt*, "a pit" (an early loan-word from Latin *puteus*). Type I above, and the modern form contain the Kt. *e* for O.E. *y* the mutation of *u*, Type III is Midland, and Type IV Southern. The form *Patteworth* in Type II above is probably a corrupt spelling, since it cannot, as far as I can see, be accounted for by any known sound-law. For the second element see *weorþ* in Pt II.

Pevensey, and Pevensey Bay (pɛmzi, pimzi).

Type I.

circa 1100 Pefenesæ, A.-S. Chron. MS. (C), anno 1049, p. 168.
1122 Pefenesǽ, A.-S. Chron. Laud MS. (E), anno 1101, p. 237; Pefenesea, ibid., anno 1087, p. 234.
temp. Richard I Peveneseie, Abbr. Plac. p. 15.
1234 Pevense, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 52.
1239 Pevensey, ibid. p. 56.
1245, 1252, 1268 Pevensey(e), ibid. pp. 60, 78, 99.
1274 Pevenese, H.R. ii. p. 215; Pevenysse, H.R. ii. p. 208.
1278 Pevense, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1326 Pevensey, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 334.
1356 Peuenese, Cust. Pevensey, Ssx. Arch. Soc. iv. p. 210.
1366 Pevenesse, ibid. ii. p. 278.
1377 Pevensey, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 10, pp. 35, 37.
1460 Pevensey, ibid. No. 35, p. 268.
1484 Pevensey, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 421.
1589 Pevensey, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 587.

Type II.

1085 Pevensel H. (Pevensel Burg), D.B. i. 20 b, 22 a.
1160–1 Peuenesel, Pipe Rolls, vol. iv. p. 13.

1199 Pevenesel, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 10.
1226 Pevensell, ibid. p. 34.
circa 1320 Pevenessell', T. de N. p. 226, § 80.

The second element is O.E. *ēā*, "island"; the *-esell* forms in Type II I take to be Norman-Fr. substitutions of *isele*, *isle* (Mod. Fr. *île*) for the English word. The first element is almost certainly a pers. n., although it is not recorded by Searle. There is a *Pefe* in O.E., which is found in pl.-ns. *Pefesiġe*, C.D. No. 314, *Peuesige*, No. 380 (= *Pewsey*, Wilts.). *Pefene* may be a form of the same pers. n. base *Pef-*. I can find no Celtic name **Peven*, **Pefen*. (The modern Pevan, Bevan = Ap-Evan (Bardsley) and is much later than the O.E. period.)

Piddinghoe.

Type I.

temp. John Pidingeho, Abbr. Plac. p. 94.
1278 Podingho, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Pydyngeho, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 294.
1325 Pydinho, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 207.
1408 Pedingho, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1439 Pydyngho, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 198.

Type II.

1315 Pydinghowe, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
1346 Pidinghowe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 137.
temp. Hen. VI Pudingehou, Tax. Eccl. p. 136.

Type III.

1275 Pidingheye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 58.

There is no word in the O.E. dicts. to fit the first element. Skeat (Etym. Dict.) derives modern *puddle* from "A.-S. *pudd* (ditch, furrow) with suffix (*-el*) = (*-il*)." Possibly a by-form may have existed with suffix *-in*, bearing a semi-adjectival sense, O.E. **pyden*. This hypothetical form would account for the first element of *Piddinghoe*. The second element is O.E. *hōh*, "hough," "hill," "ridge." Type I (modern *-hoe*) represents an M.E. shortened form of O.E. *hō(h)*; Type II is the M.E. dative

-hōwe < O.E. *hōge*. See O.E. *hōh* in Pt II, and cf. *Houghton* above.

Type III shows a change of the second element to O.E. (*gē*)*hæge*, "fenced-in land," "paddock," q.v. also in Pt II.

Piecombe, Pyecombe (pɑikūm, Hope).

Type I.

1085 Picehā, D.B. i. 26 a.
1308 Pickham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 316 (under *Guestling*).

Type II.

1278 Piccombe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1284–5 Pikcombe, F.A. v. p. 129.
1315 Picombe, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
1343 Pycombe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 110.
1404 Pykombe, ibid. iii. p. 300.
1416 Pycombe, ibid. iv. p. 27.
1460 Johannes Pykcombe, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 318.

O.E. *pīchām* originally, as in Type I above. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, under this element, says O.E. *pīca* (from Latin *pīca*) means "a pick-axe," "point," "pike," and in the mod. dials. *pike* means, among other things, "a pointed hill," "conical top of a hill or mountain." (Nthmb., Lakel., Cumb., Westm., N.E. Lancs.) E.D.D.

Type II above shows an M.E. **pīccumb*, which would be identical in pronunciation with M.E. **pīkăm* from Type I above. For another example of the alternation of *-hăm* and *-combe* see *Barcombe* above.

Playden.

Type I (dene).

1085 Pleidenā, D.B. i. 19 b.
1379 Plaiden, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 25.

Type II (dūne).

1298 Pleydonn, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 153.
1316 Pleydonne, F.A. v. p. 133.

The first element is the O.E. pers. n. *Plega* for which see Searle, who gives numerous examples of *Plegwine*, *Pleghelm*, *Plegmund*, etc. Note the interchange of *-den* and *-don* in the second element, for which cf. *Findon* above.

Plumpton, North and South.

1085 Pluntune, D.B. i. 27 a.
1253 Plumpton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1275 Plumpton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 58.
1278 Plompton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Plumpton, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 302.
1323 Plumpton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 308.
1408 Plumton, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1426 Plimpton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 111.
1503 Plompton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 592.

O.E. *plūm(a)tūn*, "enclosure containing the plum-tree." O.E. *plūma* meant "a plum-tree," and probably all the English *Plumptons* contain this word as their first element. The 1426 *Plimpton* is probably a corrupt spelling; it might otherwise be accounted for by assuming an O.E. mutated form **plȳme*.

Poling.

Type I.

1165–6 Palingeshdr, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1278 Pallinges (Paling), Plac. de quo War. pp. 758, 760.
1285 Palinge, Abbr. Plac. p. 210.
1284–5 Palingge, F.A. v. p. 128.
1301 Palyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
1326 Palingham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 286.
1361 Polyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 243.
1390 Poling, ibid. iii. p. 130.
1416 Polyng, ibid. iv. p. 26.
1593 Polynge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 593.

Type II.

1085 Pellinges, D.B. i. 22 a.
1206 Peling, Abbr. Plac. p. 55.
1337 Peling, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 173.
1390 Peling, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 130.

Possibly O.E. *pāl-incg* or *pāl-ing*, "water-meadow where the 'pole' or 'stake' stood" (i.e. as a boundary mark). Type I is the ancestor of the modern (pouliŋ) and represents O.E. *pāling*. Type II would give a modern (*pīliŋ), and represents an O.E. mutated form **pāl-ing*. Cf. the modern pers. n. *Pealing*.

See O.E. *ing*, *incg* in Pt II.

Portfield.

1294 Portfolde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 123.
1414 Le Portefeld, ibid. iv. p. 8.

The first element may be a pers. n. O.E. *Port*, which is found in O.E. pl.-ns. *Porteswudu* in C.D. No. 776, and *Portesmuþa* in A.-S. Chron. anno 501 (MSS. Parker and Laud), pp. 14 and 15 in Plummer's Ed. Or else it may be O.E. *port*, "a town," for which cf. *Port Meadow* in Oxfordshire. The absence of a genitival inflexion rather confirms this.

The second element may have been originally either O.E. *fald* or O.E. *feld* (see both in Pt II). For interchange of these elements, see *Cowfold* above.

Portslade.

1085 Porteslage, D.B. i. 26 b.
1080–1108 Portes Ladda, Fr. Ch. No. 1131, p. 233.
1179–86 Porteslad, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 48, p. 78.
1228, 1259 Porteslade, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 45, 89.
1274 Porteslad', H.R. ii. p. 203.
1277 Porteslad, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 68.
1278 Porteslad, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
circa 1320 Porteslade, T. de N. p. 222.
1385 Porteslade, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 74.

O.E. *Portes(ge)lād*. The first element is the O.E. pers. n. *Port* discussed under *Portfield* above.

The second element is O.E. *gelād*, "a road," "pathway." Normally this would develop into a modern (loud), but in a second element O.E. *(ge)lād(e)* would be shortened in M.E. to **lăd(e)*, and the modern pronunciation of the element as (leid) is due to the spelling.

Cf. the Wilts. *Cricklade* (kriklәd) which is *Creccagelade* in A.-S. Chron. (Parker MS.) anno 905, and *Crœcilade* in A.-S. Chron. (Laud MS.) anno 1016.

(There is also an O.E. *slæd* (*slǣd*?) which Sweet, A.-S. Dict., defines as "valley." The authorities are divided as to the quantity of the *-æ-*; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, and Jellinghaus, "Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn." in Anglia xx. This may also be the second element of *Portslade*, although I have found no other example of it in Sussex.)

Poynings (paniŋz).

960 Puningas, C.D. ii. p. 360.
1085 Poninges H., D.B. i. 26 b.
1274 Ponynges (Punyng'), H.R. ii. pp. 208, 219.
1278 Ponyngges, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Poninges, T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
1361 Ponynges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 244.
1369 Poinynges, ibid. p. 298.
1373 Ponynges, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 31.
1446 Ponynges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 232.
1460–80 Pounynges, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 322.

O.E. *Pūningas*, "sons of Pūn(a)." This name *Pūn(a)* is not otherwise recorded in O.E. The various spellings *o*, *u*, *oi*, *ou*, in the above forms all express M.E. *ū*, which was shortened to *ŭ* in the trisyllabic **pūninges*, and which gave rise to the mod. (a) in (paniŋz). The "polite" pronunciation (poiniŋz) is purely bogus, and is merely due to the accidental preservation of the spellings in *-oy-*. [In the North, the spellings *-oi-*, *-oy-* were often used to express a sound which was approximately (*ȳ*), and which developed out of the O.E. *ō*. See, for instance, such Northern texts as the "Bruce," where these spellings abound, and compare *Mytholmroyd*, and *Holyroyd* in Yorks., where the second element is apparently O.E. *rōd*.]

Preston.

1085 Presteton, D.B. i. 17 b.
1121 prestetona, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.

1226 Preston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 41.
1260 Preston, Abbr. Plac. p. 151.
1274 Preston, H.R. ii. pp. 206, 213.
1278 Preston, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
circa 1320 Preston (Prestitun), T. de N. pp. 222, 227.
1421 Preston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 60.

O.E. *prēōsta tūn*, "tūn of the priests." See O.E. *prēōst* in Pt II, and *Prescot* and *Preston* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Pulborough.

Type I.

1. 1085 Poleberge, D.B. i. 24 b.
2. 1246 Pulbergh, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 63.
3. 1262 Pulberwe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 23.
4. 1302 Pulberwe, ibid. p. 182.
5. circa 1320 Pulleberg, T. de N. p. 222.
6. 1341 Poleberethe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 100.
7. 1383 Pulbergh, ibid. iii. p. 59.
8. 1411–2 Pulbergh, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 134.

Type II.

1. 1434 Pulburgh, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 601.
2. 1489 Pulborough, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 395.
3. 1618 Pulborough, ibid. p. 482.
4. 1633–4 Pulborough, Vist. Ssx. p. 52.

Type III.

1278 Pilleberg, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

The first element is O.E. *pul(l)*, "a pool," in ablaut relation to O.E. *pōl* (> mod. "pool"). See this word in Pt II.

Type I has the suffix O.E. *beorg*, "a hill." The spellings in *-bergh* are from the O.E. nom., those in *-berwe* from the dative *beorge.*

The form *Poleberethe* (No. 6 in Type I) above is a scribal or editorial error, due to confusion between the O.E. symbols $\text{p} = w$, and $\text{þ} = th$. But see *Aigburth* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

The modern name is descended from Type II, O.E. **pul-burh.* See *beorg* and *burg, burh* in Pt II below.

The Plac. de quo War. *Pilleberg*, which I have typed as Type III is, if genuine, the descendant of the O.E. mutated form *pyll*, for which B.-T. gives authority. Had it survived, it would have given rise to a mod. (pilbrə).

Rackham.

1294 Rakhamet, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
Racham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 127.
1306 Racham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 138.

The first element is probably a pers. n. Searle records no **Raca*, **Hraca*, but B.-T. under *Raculf* quotes from C.D. vi. p. 324 (Index)—"*Raculf*, *Ræculf*, *Reculfcestre*... = *Reculver*, Kent." I assume a shortened form **Raca*, and an O.E. prototype **Racanhām*. On *Raculf* see Bradley, Essays and Studies, 1910, p. 22.

Racton.

1. 1085 Rachetone, D.B. i. 24 a.
2. 1167–8 Rakintona, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 197.
3. 1212 Rakinton, Abbr. Plac. p. 88.
4. 1284 *a*. Racton
b. Ratton } Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
5. 1306 Ratton, ibid. p. 225.
6. 1361 Raketon, ibid. ii. p. 236.
7. 1411–2 Racton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
8. 1423 Racton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 81.
9. 1633–4 Ratton, Vist. Ssx. p. 24.

O.E. *Racantūn*; cf. preceding name. Nos. (2) and (3) above show medial *-in-* < O.E. *-an-* of **Racantūn*. Nos. (4 *b*), (5), and (9) show a development O.E. **Racantūn* > **Rac(a)tūn* > M.E. **Răhtūn* > *Rattun* by metathesis. Nos. (1), (4 *a*), (6), (7) and (8) represent O.E. **Raca(n)tūn* > M.E. *Rak(e)ton* > mod. *Racton* (ræktən).

Ridgewick (ridžik), **Rudgewick** (radžik).

Type I.

1259 Ruggewyk, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 89.
1278 Rusgewicke, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

1304 Rugewyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1307 Rugwike, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 222.
1383 Rugwyke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 59.
1407 Ruggewyke, ibid. iv. p. 464.
1440–4 Ruggewyk, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 382.

Type II.

1262 Rigwice, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 23.
1283 Ridgewike, ibid. p. 84.
1349 Rigewyke, ibid. ii. p. 153.
1446–7 Riggewike, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 201.
1598 Rydgeweeke, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 630.

O.E. **hrycg*(*e*)*wīc*, "the abode by the ridge, or hill-side." See both elements in Pt II. Type I is Southern, and the ancestor of modern (radžik), Type II Midland, and the ancestor of modern (ridžik).

Cf. *Ridgeway* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

Ringmer.

1275 Ringemere, Abbr. Plac. p. 191.
1366 Ryngmere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 276.
Ryngmere, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 160.
1412 Ryngmere, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 617.

The first element can hardly be the O.E. *hring*, which means "a ring" or "a circle," "globe," etc., and can scarcely be applied to land-features. It is probably a shortened form of some pers. n. like *Hringweald*, *Hringwine*, *Hringwulf*, etc. O.E. *Hringweald* is found in a pl.-n. *Hringwoldes beorh* in Cart. Sax. No. 729.

The second element may be either O.E. *mere*, "a mere," "lake," or O.E. *gemǣru*, "a boundary." See both these elements in Pt II.

Ripe.

1085 Ripe, D.B. i. 19 a (ter), 22 b.
1336, 1338 Ripp, Ryppe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. pp. 72, 87.
1377 Rype, ibid. p. 359.
1450 Rupe, ibid. iv. p. 247.

E.D.D. under *ripe* sb. (2) gives "a bank," "the seashore" (pronounced (rɑip), (rɛip)), and derives the word from Latin *rīpa*. This word is mentioned as occurring only in Kent and Sussex.

Jellinghaus (Engl. und Niederdeuts. Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 311) says "Engl. *ripe* = uferrand, schärfholz für sensen; ostfries *rîpe* = rand; thüringisch *riefe* = vertieften streifen," and quotes the Sussex *Ripe* as an example. See this element in Pt II.

Robertsbridge, Rotherbridge.

Type I.

1085 Redrebrige, D.B. i. 17 b.
Redebruge, D.B. i. 23 b.
1165-6 Rederebriggehðr, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 92.
1436 Retherbrigge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 176.

Type II.

1274 Rutherebrugg, H.R. ii. p. 214.
1278 Rurrebrugge, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1301 Rutherbrigge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
1416 Rutherbrugge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 26.

Type III.

1200 de Ponte Roberti, Abbr. Plac. p. 32.
1268 de Ponte Roberti, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1298 Abbas de Ponte Roberti, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 153.
1332 de Ponte Roberti, ibid. ii. p. 53.
1475 Robertisbrigge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 619.

Type IV (different spelling of Type II?).

1337 Rotherbrug, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 173.
1361 Rotherbrugge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 243.
1397 Rotherbrugge, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1411-2 Rothirbrigge, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

The original form was O.E. *hrȳðerabrycg*. O.E. *hrȳðer* (< **hrunþri*) meant "a cow," "heifer," "ox," "horned animal."

There was also a by-form *hrīðer* (< **hrenþri*). See this element in Pt II.

Type I and Type II are normal descendants from this O.E. *hrȳðraberycg* with the Kentish and Southern vowels *ē* and *ū* for O.E. *ȳ*.

Type III is due to popular etymology; by confusion of the first element of the *Ruthere-* type (II above) with the Norman or Normanised pers. n. *Robert(us)* (= O.E. *Hrōþbcorht*). This type seems to have arisen quite early in the M.E. period, and has persisted down to the present day.

Type IV is capable of two explanations. Either it is (1) a different spelling of Type II, due to the writing of *-o-* for *-u-* before *-th-*, or else (2) it shows confusion of the first element with the O.E. pers. n. *Hrōþhere*. In either case the modern (roðəbridž) is a spelling-pronunciation. See Wyld's remarks under *Ritherham* in Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and cf. *Rotherfield* below.

Rodmell.

Type I.

1085 Redmelle, D.B. i. 28 a.
1121 redmella, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1535–43 Syr William de Redmille, Leland's Itinerary iii. p. 93.

Type II.

1278 Radmeld, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1315 Rademeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
1397 Rademylde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 226.
1411–2 Rademyle, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 32.
1416 Rademeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 26.

I can offer no satisfactory explanation of this name. But for the modern *Rod-*, the first element might be a pers. n. *Rǣda* (> *Red-*, Type I) or *Rada-* (> *Rad-*, Type II). True, the modern *Rod-* might develop out of *Rad-* by dialectal interchange of *a* and *o* (see *Clapham* above, and reference to E. D. Gr. there given).

Or else the first element could be O.E. *rēād*, "red," Type I being from O.E. *Rǣd-* > *Rēd-* > M.E. *Rĕd-* before *-dm-*, and

Type II from O.E. *Rād-* > M.E. *Rǎd-* under the same conditions. See Pogatscher, Anglia xxiii. pp. 302 ff., and Ritter, Anglia, June 1913, pp. 269–75, in the articles "zur engl. Æ/E Grenze." Again the modern *Rodmell* might represent in this case M.E. **rǭdemelle* or **rǭdemelde* < O.E. *reáda-* with shifting of stress, on which see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., § 11, p. 25.

The second element also presents difficulties. The modern *-mell* looks like the Kt. form of O.E. *mylne*, dative of *mylen*, "mill," the M.E. forms in *-meld*, *-mylde* having developed an "excrescent" *-d*. But the date of the addition of this *-d* is not definitely known (see *Glynde* above), nor does the number of *-d* forms support the explanation. I suggest an O.E. **mylde*, an unrecorded mutated form of *molde* (modern "mould"), which B.-T. gives with the meanings "dust," "sand," "earth." In this case modern *-mell* may be merely an unstressed form of *-melde*, or it may be due to confusion with the above-mentioned *mell* from *mylne*. "The place of red sand *or* red earth" seems quite a convincing meaning.

Roffey, Roughey (rafi).

1364 La Rogheye, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 383 (under *Horsham*).
1418 Rogehey, Cal. Inq. P.M. iv. p. 38.
1437 Rogheye, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. B 1540, p. 363.

Either O.E. **rūh(ge)hæge*, "rough pathway" or O.E. **Rūganhæge*, "the pathway of Rūga," a pers. n., meaning "the rough one," which is found in *Ruganbeorh*, *Ruwanbeorh*, *Ruanbeorh*, *Ruwancnol*, *Rugan dič*, etc. Kemble's Index (cit. Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., under *Rowey*, p. 325). If we assume the pers. n. *Rūga*, we have to admit the loss of the gen. suffix *-an* and a subsequent development **Rūgheye* > **Rŭh(h)ey* > **rŭh^{w}(h)ey* > (rafi); precisely parallel is the development of the other O.E. form **rūhgehæge*.

See O.E. *gehæge* in Pt II.

Rogate (rougeit, E).

1267 Rogate, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 97.
1273 Rogate, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 54.

1274 Rougate, Rugate } H.R. ii. p. 210.
1275 Rogate, Abbr. Plac. p. 189.
1278 Rogate, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1323 Rogatte, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 275.
1340, 1377 Rogate, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 176, 188.
1411–2 Roughgate, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
temp. Hen. VI Rogate, Regate } Tax. Eccl. p. 134.

The first element is either O.E. *rūh* or the pers. n. *Rūga*, as in the preceding name, and the modern (rougeit) must be regarded as a spelling-pronunciation. For *-gate* see remarks under *Fishergate* ante.

Rotherfield (radəvəl).

Types I and II.

880–5 Hryðeranfelda, C.D. ii. p. 215.

Type I.

1085 Reredfelle, D.B. i. 16 a.
1278 Rederesfeld, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.
1286–7 Retherfeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 280.
1316 Rethurfelde, F.A. v. p. 137.

Type II.

1295 Rotherfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 131.
1302–3 Rotherfeud, F.A. v. p. 132.
1346 Rotherfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 179.
1375 Rotherfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 349.
1411–2 Rothirfeld, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 141.
1445 Rotherfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 229.

The O.E. form above explains the name as "the rams' field." Type I is Kentish, and II Southern. The spellings in *Rother-* may be simply graphic changes from *Ruther-*, or they may be on the analogy of the O.E. pers. n. *Hrōþherc*. See *Robertsbridge*, *Rotherbridge* above. The modern local pronunciation is the normal descendant of Type II.

Rottingdean.

1085 Rotingedene, D.B. i. 26 b.
1121 rotingesdena, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1315 Rottingden, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
circa 1320 Rotingeden, T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
1411–2 Ruttyndene, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 132.
1439 Rotyngden, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 198.
1457 Rottyngdene, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 627.

It is hardly likely that the first element is O.E. *notung*, "corruption," "putrefaction," for this word was principally used figuratively (the mod. "rot" and "rotten" are from Scand.: Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

There is an O.E. pers. n. *Ruta* quoted by Searle from Cart. Sax. Nos. 159, 175 and C.D. Nos. 85, 96, but the frequency of the spellings in *-o-* argue against this. There is no **Hrōta* or **Rōta-* in the Onomasticon.

Possibly (but not, I fear, probably) the first element was O.E. *Hrōþinga-* gen. plu. "of the sons of Hrōþ," a common first element in O.E. pers. ns. But if we accept this, we have to account for the other forms and the modern name by assuming wholesale N.-Fr. influence in substituting *-t-* for *-þ-*.

All that is fairly certain is that the second element is O.E. *denu*, "valley" (q.v. Pt II).

Rumboldswhyke.

1317 Rumbaldeswyke, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. B 3108, p. 368.
circa 1320 Wyk-Rumbald, T. de N. p. 223.
1345 Rombaldeswyke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 129.
1399, 1400 Rumbaldeswyke, ibid. iii. pp. 261, 278.
1411–2 Rumboldiswyke, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 135.
1428 Rumboldeswyke, F.A. v. p. 164.
1501 Rumbaldeswyke, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 630.

The "wīc" or "abode" of Rumbold. Both *Rumbold* and the earlier *Rumbeald* are well-authenticated in O.E.; see Searle. For *wīc* see remarks in Pt II.

Runcton.

1274 Rungeton, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1297 Rungeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 148.
about 1320 Rungeton, T. de N. p. 222.
1331 Rongeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 44.
1335 Rongtone, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 299.
1495 Rongeton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 631.

Is the first element O.E. *hrung* (mod. "rung" of a ladder) = "a staff," "rod," "beam," "pole" (B.-T.)? If so, the sense would be "the enclosure round the pole" (i.e. the "pole" as a sort of boundary mark; cf. the name *Poling* above).

B.-T. compares Gthc. *hrugga*, "a staff," German *runge*, "pin," and says that "in Icel. *Hrungnir* was the name of a giant (Grimm, Deut. Mythol. 494)." I can find no evidence of *Hrung-* as a pers. n. in O.E.

Rusper (raspə).

1325 Rousparre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.
1361 Rousparre, ibid. ii. p. 240.
1411–2 Rowsparr, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
temp. Hen. VI Rughesperre, Russpere, Ruspere } Tax. Eccl. p. 140.
1549 Roughsparre, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 632.

The 1549 form, although the latest, is the most primitive. It points to O.E. *rūh sparr*, "a rough spar." The *-ou-*, *-ow-* spellings above represent a M.E. type in which the *-ū-* remained unshortened; the mod. pronunciation represents M.E. *rūhsparre* > *rŭsparre* by interconsonantal loss of *-h-*.

Modern "spar" means a "beam," "bar," or "rafter," but Skeat, Etym. Dict. (*spar* (1)), says the original meaning was a "stick" or "pole," and connects with "spear." See the element in Pt II.

Rustington.

1194 Rustintun(e), Fr. Ch. No. 695, p. 246.
1272 Rustinton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 50.

1274 Rustinton, H.R. ii. p. 23.
1278 Rustington, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1316 Rustyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 242.
1330 Rustiton, ibid. ii. p. 37.
1349 Roustyngton, ibid. p. 162.
1351 Rustyngton, ibid. p. 172.
1383–4 Rustinton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 632.

Rye.

1085 Rieberge, D.B. i. 16 b.
1165–6 Ria, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 90.
1224 Ria, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 484.
1248 Rye, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 66.
1333 de Rya, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 297.
1363 de la Rye, ibid. p. 334.
1404–5 Rye, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 196.

If the D.B. form is to be trusted, the name was originally O.E. **rygebeorg*, "rye-hill," and the second element has subsequently been completely lost. But this is not very convincing.

(It is just possible that the word is really O.Fr. *rüe* (a road), or that it was influenced by this word. O.Fr. *rüe* (< Lat. *rūga*)[1] was already in the 12th or 13th cent. pronounced as (rȳe). If this word were borrowed in early M.E. it might become **rī(e)* by unrounding of *ȳ*, although the difficulty is that in Sussex, whose dialect was mainly Southern, the unrounded form would be retained. I put this forward tentatively, for what it may be worth.)

St Leonard's Forest.

1278 Foresta de Sčo Leonardo, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1325 Foresta Sancti Leonardi, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 327.
1361 Sancti Leonardi chacea, ibid. ii. p. 239.
1406 Sancti Leonardi chacea, ibid. iii. p. 313.

Explanation obvious.

[1] Brachet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue française, sub *rue*.

St Pancras.

1121 ad locum Sci Pancratii, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 4, p. 5.
1324 Eccl. Sancti Pancracii, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 317.
1375 In paroch' Sancti Pancrasii, ibid. ii. p. 341.

Salehurst.

1085 Salhert, D.B. i. 19 b.
1205–16 Salhirst } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 639.
temp. Hen. III Salhurst }
1278 Salehurst, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1294 Salhurst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1319 Salherst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1332 Salherst, ibid. ii. p. 53.
1341 Salhurst, ibid. ii. p. 100.
1369 Saleherst, ibid. ii. p. 300.

I see no reason why the first element should not be O.E. *sæl*, "a hall" (O.H.G. *sal*; O.Norse *salr*), although this word is mainly used in poetry to describe such places as *Heorot*, the famous hall of king Hrōþgar (see Beowulf, passim). The second element is certainly O.E. *hyrst*.

The element *sel* is common in continental pl.-ns., both as a first and as a second element (see, for instance, Leithaeuser, Berg. Ortsn., pp. 78, 79), and moreover, such a hall often stood in or near a wood. I quote here from Jellinghaus, Westfäl Ortsn., p. 114.

sel a.s. (altsächsisch), *seli*, "Gebäude, nur aus einem grossen Saale bestehend, auch zur Aufbewahrung von Feldfrüchten dienend....Das dreimalige Eintreten von *loh* für *sele* beweist die häufige Anlage solcher Saalgebäude an Gehölzen. Manche sind mit den Namen der Erbauer zusammengesetzt."

Salvington.

1274 Salington, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1329 Salvyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 463.
1357 Salvington, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 640.

Is this O.E. **Sælāfantūn*, "the tūn of Sælāf"? For *Sælāf* see Searle. In this case we should have to assume a weak genitive in *-an-*, and a subsequent contraction of the trisyllabic O.E. **Sælāfantūn* to M.E. **Săleventun* > *Salvintun* and mod. *Salvington.*

Seaford.

1204 Seaford, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 20.
temp. John Seford, Abbr. Plac. p. 69.
1229 Sefford, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 245.
1274 Sefford, Seford } H.R. ii. pp. 204, 205.
1298 Seford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 148.
temp. Edw. I Seford, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 30.
1304 Seford, Abbr. Plac. p. 298.
1316 Seford, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. pp. 251, 253.
1335 Seford, Seaford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. pp. 66, 68.
1377 Seford, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 10, p. 35.

O.E. *Sæford.* See O.E. *sæ* and *ford* in Pt II. *Seaforth* (near *Liverpool*) contains O.Norse *fjorðr* (cognate with *ford*) as its second element. On *ford* and *forth* see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Sedgwick (sedžik).

1265 Segwy, Seggewyk } Abbr. Plac. p. 174.
1311 Seggewyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 245.
circa 1320 Seghwik, T. de N. p. 222.
1325 Segwyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 327.
1383 Seggewyk, ibid. iii. p. 57.

The first element is O.E. *secge*, "sedge," "sword-grass." The second is O.E. *wīc*, "house," "abode," "dwelling." See both words in Pt II. *Sedge-* is a common element in Engl. pl.-ns.; see the examples given in Jellinghaus, Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn.

Sedlescombe, Selscombe.

Type I.

1085 Salescome, D.B. i. 20 a, 27 a.}
Selescome, D.B. i. 20 a. }
1205–16 Sedelescumbe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 650.
1309 Sedelescombe, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 226.
1344 Sedlescoumbe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 650.
1539 Sellescombe, ibid. p. 651.

(*Type II*) *Sadlescombe*? (Kelly's Direct., but not Bartholomew.)

1278 Sadelescombe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1344 Sadelescombe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 116.
1428 Sadelescombe, F.A. v. p. 162.

Moorman, W.Rid. Pl.-Ns., explains Yorks. *Saddleworth* as "the farm, or property of Sædel." He cites O.E. *Sædelesstrēt* from C.D. Nos. 597, 1190, and takes *Sædel* as a pers. n., originally a nickname. The independent word *sædel* is of course the modern "saddle." For *Sedelscombe* as compared with *Selscombe* see remarks under *Telscombe* below.

Selsey.

683? Seolesige, C.D. v. p. 32.
801 Selesegh, C.D. v. p. 63.
957 Selesey, C.D. ii. p. 341.
circa 980 Seolesigge, A.-S. Chron. MS. (C), anno 980, p. 122.
1085 Seleisie, D.B. i. 17 a.
1226 Selesya, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
1274 Selesle, H.R. ii. p. 210.
1316 Selleye, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 253.
1388 Selseye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 460.

The first element is O.E. *sēōles*, genitive sing. of *seolh*, "a seal." Searle merely gives *Seol-* as "local" in *Seolesburne* from Cart. Sax. No. 1200, and C.D. No. 535. Since it occurs in conjunction with such words as *-burne*, "brook" and *-ige*, "island," *seolh* is probably the name of the creature. The C.D. form above dated 801 is obviously much later, since *-egh* is a M.E., not an O.E. spelling.

Bede in Eccl. Hist. iv. 13 (p. 232 in Plummer's Ed.) explains *Selsey* as "*Selæseu*, quod dicitur Latine insula vituli marini," i.e. "island of the sea-calf" or "seal."

Sharnden.

1319 Sharndenne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1341 Sharndene, ibid. ii. p. 100.

The Ind. Ch. and Rolls gives for the Kent *Sharnden* a form *Scearn dæn* (anno 973) Cott. MS. viii. 33 (Index, p. 655). C.D. also has *Scearnford* (= Sharnford, Leics.), Nos. 710, 1298.

The first element may be O.E. *scearn*, which B.-T. defines as "sharn," "dung," "filth." E.D.D. gives "sharn" in this sense in the modern dialects. B.-T. cites the cognates O.Fris. *skern*; Icel. *sharn* (n.), "dung"; Dan. *skarn*, "dung," "muck," "filth"; O.E. *scearnwibba* or *scearnwifel* is "a dung-beetle."

Shermanbury.

1349 Shurmandbury, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 162.
1361 Shirmanbury, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 240.
Schyrmanbury, ibid. p. 232.
1386 Shirmanbury, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 83.
1411–2 Shirmannysbury, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 139.
1584 Shermanbury, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 660.
1633–4 Shermanbury, Vist. Ssx. p. 10.

The first element is probably O.E. *scīrmann*, "official," "officer," "ruler," "one who discharges the duties of a *scīr*" (B.-T.). "Sheriff's city" is quite a convincing meaning.

Another possible explanation is that the first element is the M.E. family name *Sherman*, modern *Shearman*, *Sherman*. Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 682, cites c. 1300, *John le Sheremon*, *Robert le Sherman*; 14th cent. *William le Sherman*, and says the name is "occupative" and = "cloth-shearer." See O.E. *burg*, *byrig* in Pt II.

Sherrington.

1302–3 Shirynton, F.A. v. p. 132.
1375 Shoryngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 348.
1377 Sheryngton, ibid. iii. p. 1.

Possibly "Scīra's tūn," O.E. **Scīrantun.* Searle records numerous names in *Scīr*, e.g. *Scirbeald, Scirheard, Scirweald*, etc., and quotes *Scira* as a witness to a ch. Cart. Sax. No. 208 (anno 772) and as "local" in *Sciranpul*, Cart. Sax. No. 1088, C.D. No. 495. The difficulty consists in the *Shir-*, *Shor-* forms above. The *Shir-* is probably due to M.E. raising of *e* (Morsbach, Me.Gr. pp. 143–4), and *Shor-* (= *Shur-*?) is possibly the result of the rounding of this *-i-* before *-r-*. See *tūn* in Pt II.

Shillinglee.

1436 Shillynglegh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 176.
1437 Shullynglegh, ibid. p. 184.

The above forms are very late, but they doubtless preserve the O.E. pers. n. *Scilling* (mod. surname *Shilling*) which is well-authenticated (see Searle, pp. 410, 411).

The second element is O.E. *lēāh*, q.v. Pt II.

Shipley.

Type I.

1085 Sepelie, D.B. i. 26 b.
1275 Shepeley, Abbr. Plac. p. 191.
1325 Shepely, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1353 Schiplee, ibid. ii. p. 185.
1361 Shepele, Shepelaye } ibid. ii. pp. 239, 240.
1421 Shepelle, ibid. iv. p. 60.

Type II.

1274 Schepelake, Sepelake, H.R. ii. pp. 205, 206.
1278 Schiplak, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1330 Shepelake, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 29.
1366 Sheplake, ibid. p. 275.

The first element is O.E. *scēpa*, gen. plu. of *scēp*, W.S. *scēāp*, "sheep." Type I shows the second element *-lēāh*, Type II has O.E. *lacu*, *lace*, "a lake," "small mere." Jellinghaus, Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn., under *lake*, implies that the Yorks. *Beverley* has O.E. *lacu* as the second element. He cites the early form *Beferlac* without date or reference.

Most of the above early forms have M.E. *shēpe*, from O.E. *scēpa*, but the forms in *schip-* and the modern name would seem to be descended from a by-form O.E. *scīp*, which was, however, mainly Northumbrian. See *Shipley* in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns. Or possibly the M.E. forms were really pronounced (ʃēp-) or (ʃĕp-), and some analogy has been at work to produce the modern (ʃipli) in Sussex. Southern names have mainly *-e-*; cf. *Sheppey Island*, Kent.

Shoreham, Old and New.

1073 Sorham, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Sorehā, D.B. i. 29 a.
Soreshā, D.B. i. 28 a.
1169–70 Sorhā, Pipe Rolls, vol. xiii. p. 138.
1229 Sorham, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 245.
1273–4 Shorham, Abbr. Plac. p. 263.
1274 Schorham, H.R. ii. pp. 202, 203.
Shorham, H.R. ii. pp. 209, 215, 219.
temp. Edw. I Shorham, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 41.
1278 Schorham, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1299 Shoram Vetus, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 157.
1315 Shoreham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
1319 Shoram Nova, ibid. p. 261.
1324 Shorham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 318.
1396 Shoram, ibid. iii. p. 196.

O.E. **scorehām*, "the homestead on the sea-shore." The modern *shore* is M.E. *schore*, but it is not found in O.E. The original sense is "edge" or "part shorn off" < *scoren*, p.p. of *sceran*, *scieran*, "to cut," "shear." (Skeat, Etym. Dict. under *shore*.)

See *Shore* and O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Shripney.

680? Scrippaneg, C.D. i. p. 23.

The first element is a pers. n. Searle merely quotes O.E. *Scrippa* as "local" from the above name, and the same charter in Cart. Sax. No. 50.

For the second element see *-ey* in Pt II.

Sidlesham.

683? Sidelesham, C.D. v. p. 33.
714 Sideleshamstede, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 196 (No. 132).
1226 Sydelesham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 84.
1285 Sidelesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 92.
1346 Sidelesham, ibid. ii. p. 135.
1383 Sydlesham, ibid. iii. p. 63.
1579 Sidlesam, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 66.

The first element is a pers. n. Searle records *Sidel*, "local," from *Sidelesham*, Cart. Sax. No. 997 and C.D. No. 464. The latter reference is the C.D. form above. I take this *Sidel* to be a diminutive of *Sida* (which is also recorded by Searle), which, in its turn, is a shortened form of some name beginning with *Sid-*, for which S. gives about a column of examples. (Onomast. pp. 416, 417.)

For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Singleton.

Type I.

1271 Singelton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 39.
1326 Singeltone, ibid. p. 334.
1337 Singleton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 172.
1361 Syngelton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 243.
1418 Seintgelton, ibid. iv. p. 38.

Type II.

1273 Sengleton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 53.
1278 Sengelton, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1301 Sengletone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
circa 1320 Sengleton, T. de N. p. 222.
1411–2 Sengilton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

Type III.

1274 Sungylton, H.R. ii. p. 213.

Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Singleton*, suggests for the first element O.Norse **Singulfr*. I propose for the Ssx. *Singleton* an O.E. pers. n. **Syngel* with *y* for the mutation of *u*. I take

this **Syngel* to be a kind of nickname or pet-name formed, by means of the diminutive suffix *-il*, from **sung-*, the 3rd grade of *singan*, "to sing." Thus **Syngel* would have the meaning of a "minstrel" or "singer." This would account for the three types above, but the explanation is not very satisfactory.

Slaugham Park, Slaugham Place (slæfm).

1284–5 Slagham, F.A. v. p. 129.
1324 Slaugham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 318.
1328 Slagham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 161.
1339 Slagham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 90.
1411–2 Slawgham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 140.
1432 Slagham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 151.
1460 Slawham, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 322.

The first element is probably O.E. *slaga*, "a slayer," possibly used in the sense of "a butcher" or perhaps "game-hunter." The second element is O.E. *hām*, "homestead." O.E. *slaga* is found, for instance, in Cura Pastoralis, "Hu, ne biþ he þonne swelce he sie his *slaga*, þonne he hine mæg gehælan, and nyle?" (Sweet's Ed. p. 275, l. 9). The modern local pronunciation (slæfm) is normally developed from O.E. *slaganhām* > **slah(an)-ham* > **slahʷ(h)am* > **slafam* > mod. (slæfm). Cf. the development of modern (lāftə) from O.E. *hleahtor*.

Slindon.

1085 Eslindone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1273 Slyndon, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 105.
1274 Slyndon, H.R. ii. p. 211.
1314 Slyndon, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
1316 Slyndon, F.A. v. p. 139.
circa 1320 Slindon, T. de N. p. 226.

N.H.G. *Schlund* means "a gorge," "abyss," "the throat." Although not recorded in the dicts., there may have been an O.E. cognate **slynde* (< **slunþí*). This is purely conjectural.

Slinfold.

1304 Slyndefolde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1325 Slyndefolde, ibid. p. 325.
late 14th cent. Slyndefolde, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 670.
1403 Slyndefolde, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 352.
1408 Slindefold, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 312.
temp. Hen. VI Slyndefeud, Tax. Eccl. p. 134.
1492 Slynfold, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 411.
1633–4 Slinffeld, Vist. Ssx. p. 69.

See remarks on preceding name.

Sompting, Sumpting.

956 Suntinga, Cart. Sax. vol. iii. p. 144 (No. 961).
1251 Sontinges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1273 Sontinges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 51.
1305 Sountinges, ibid. p. 207.
About 1320 Sunting, T. de N. p. 223. } Sumptinges, T. de N. p. 222.
1327 Suntynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 10.
1357 Sountynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 202.
1365 Suntynge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 676.
1397 Somptynge, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Suntynge, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 139.
1450 Sountynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 247.
1455 Sounptyng } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 676.
1472 Somtyng }

There is a place in Northants. called *Sunting*, which is found in C.D. No. 445 in the form *Suntinga gemǽro* (cit. Kemble, Index to C.D. vol. vi. p. 337).

Southease.

1274 Suthese, H.R. ii. p. 209.
1278 Suthesse, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1309 Southie?, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 235.
1344 Suthese, ibid. ii. p. 121.
1347 Suthese, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 318.

The first element is certainly O.E. *sūþ*. As for the second, it may be a plu. of *ēā*, "island," "water"; but I have never seen the word used in the plural.

More possibly it is the genitive singular of O.E. **gēā*, "farm-land" (not the plu.; the Gmc. cognates O.S. *gā*, *gō*; O.H.G. *gewi*, *kawi*, *gawi*; Gthc. *gawi* are neuter; the O.E. plural then would probably be **gēā* and not **gēas*). If so, the name must represent O.E. **(þæs) sūþan *gēàs*, "(of the) south farm." For O.E. **gēā* see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Southover.

1121 Suthoure, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 11.
1274 Suthov'e, H.R. ii. p. 209.

O.E. *sūþ ōfer*, "south bank." See both elements in Pt II. O.E. *ōfer* (N.H.G. *ufer*) often appears in mod. names as *-or*. See *Bignor* above.

Southwick (saðik).

1309 Suthewike, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 237.
1315, 1319 Suthwike, Suthwik, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. pp. 247, 261.
About 1320 Suwyk, T. de N. pp. 222, 223.
1339 Suthwyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 89.
1403 Southwik, ibid. iii. p. 298.
1483 Southwyk, ibid. iv. p. 414.

O.E. *sūþ wīc*. See both elements in Pt II. The modern pronunciation of this name is (saðik), from M.E. **Sŭðwik*.

Standean.

Type I.

1085 Standene, D.B. i. 22 b.
1296 (Roger, Symone, Roberto, de) Standenn, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 305.
1408 Standen, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.

Type II.

1253 Standon, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1409 Standon, ibid. p. 213.

O.E. *stān denu*, "stony dean *or* valley." The early forms show the common confusion of the second element O.E. *denu*, "valley," with O.E. *dūne*, "hill." Cf. *Findon*, *Marden*, and *Playden* above.

Stanmer.

circa 765 stanmere, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 280 (No. 197).
1085 Stam̄ere, D.B. i. 16 b.
1274 Stanmere, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1293 Stam^{9}firth (= Stanmerfirth), Abbr. Plac. p. 233.
1366 Stammere, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 160.

O.E. *stān mere*, or possibly *stan(ge)mǣru*. See these elements in Pt II.

Stansted.

1301 Stansted, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
1326 Stanstede, ibid. p. 334.
1330 Stanstede, ibid. ii. p. 32.
1397 Stanstede, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1416 Stanstede, ibid. iv. p. 26.

O.E. *stān stede*. See both elements in Pt II.

Stedham.

960 Steddanham, C.D. ii. p. 360.
1085 Stedehā, D.B. i. 23 b.
1283 Stedham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1314 *Stodeham*, ibid. p. 262.

Searle quotes a pers. n. O.E. *Stedda*, on the evidence of Kemble, C.D. No. 481, which is the very reference above. No other authority for this name exists. But for the C.D. form above, one would be tempted to explain *Stedham* simply as O.E. *Stedehām*. I cannot account phonetically for the 1314 *Stodeham*.

Steyning (steniŋ).

Type I.

1073 Staninges, Fr. Ch. No. 1131, p. 405.
1085 Staninges, D.B. i. 17 a, 28 a, 29 a.

1165–6 Staning, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 90.
1251 Staninges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1274 Staning, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1278 Stanynges, Plac. de quo War. p. 749.
1279 Staninges, Abbr. Plac. p. 198.
1289 Stanynges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 103.
1331 Stanynges, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 293.

Type II.

880–5 æt Stæningum, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1274 Stenigges, H.R. ii. pp. 202, 203. } Stenyng, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1278 Steininges, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1280 Stening, Abbr. Plac. p. 200.
1304 Stenings, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1316 Steyninge, F.A. v. p. 134.
1349 Steningge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 153.
1369 Steninge, ibid. ii. p. 298.
1383 Stenyngge, ibid. iii. p. 57.
1633–4 in Steynings } of Stenings } Vist. Ssx. p. 25.
1695 Stening, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

Type I is O.E. *stān-ingas*, which may be a patronymic from some name beginning with *stān-*, or else a compound meaning "stony meadow." The latter is more likely, since we find Type II with a mutated form *stēn-* as its first element.

Type II, O.E. *stāningas* or *stāninegas*, is the ancestor of the modern name.

The *-ey-* spellings above may indicate either a tense M.E. *ē* or a slack *ę́*. In the 15th cent. and even in Wyclif they seem to represent the slack sound (Dibelius, John Capgrave und die engl. Schriftspr., Anglia xxiii. § 25 ff.). If on the other hand the *ē* be tense, it goes back to the Kentish *ē* for *ǽ*, the *i-* umlaut of O.E. *ā*. In either case the result is modern (steniŋ), with shortening of the first syllable in the trisyllabic M.E. *stēninges*.

Stockbridge.

1085 Estocbrigge H., D.B. i. 17 b, 24 a.
1271 Stocbrugg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i p. 39.

1274 Stokbrugg, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1275 Stokebrigg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 60.
1278 Stokebrugg, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1301 Stokbrigg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 174.
1337 Stokbrugg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 172.
1361 Stokebrugge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 243.
1397 Stokebrugge, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Stokebrigge, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

O.E. *stoc(c)brycg*. O.E. *stoc(c)* is common in pl.-ns., both as a first and second element. Its meaning seems to have been "a fenced-in place." See O.E. *stoc(c)* and *brycg* in Pt II.

Stoke, North, South, and West.

1085 Stoches, D.B. i. 24 b, 25 a.
1226 Stokes, Stoke, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 39, 41.
1271 Northstoke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 39.
1278 Stoke, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1282 Northstoke, Abbr. Plac. p. 205.
circa 1320 Stokes, Stok, Sudstok } T. de N. p. 222.
1471 Stoke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 317.

O.E. *stoc(c)*, "a fenced-in place." The above spellings show various inflected types in M.E. The modern *Stoke* is, of course, the O.E. dative *stoce* (not *stocce*) > M.E. *stōke*.

Stopham.

1294 Stopham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1313 Stopeham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 238.
1314 Stopeham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1399 Stophaın, ibid. iii. p. 261.
1411–2 Stopham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 135.
1488 Stopeham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 389.

The first element may be a pers. n. Searle records no O.E. **Stoppa*, but I have found the following in Kemble, C.D. i. p. 100 (No. 83), "Est autem ager qui traditur in regione quae

antiquitus nominatur *Stoppingas....*" Kemble identifies this in the Index (vol. vi.) with Warw. *Stopping*, which identification, however, he queries.

This points to O.E. **Stoppanhām* as the ancestor of Ssx. *Stopham*.

Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns., under *Stopsley*, refers to *Stoppingas* in Kemble's Index, which is the *Stoppingas* in the above quotation.

Storrington.

1085 Storgetune, D.B. i. 29 a.
1283 Storton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1290 Storighton, ibid. p. 105.
1302 Storghton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
circa 1320 Storgetun, T. de N. p. 222.
1399 Storghton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 195.
temp. Hen. VI Storgetone, Tax. Eccl. p. 134.

Stoughton.

1121 Stoctona, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1213 Stocton, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
1251 Stoktun, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 75.
1274 Stocton, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1278 Stoghton, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1282–3 Stotton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 703.
1306 Stokton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 216.
1399 Stokton, ibid. iii. p. 267.
1428 Stoghton, F.A. v. p. 169.
1478–80 Stoughton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 204.
1487 Stockton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 386.

O.E. *Stoctūn* > M.E. *Stohtun* > *Stouhtun* > mod. (stōtən). See *Stockbridge* and *Stoke* above, also O.E. *Stoc(c)* and *tūn* in Pt II, and for *-kt-* > *-ht-* cf. *Broughton* (< O.E. **brōctūn*) in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Streat, Street.

1016–20 æt Stræte, C.D. iv. p. 10.
1085 Estrat, D.B. i. 27 a.
1271 Strete, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 40.
1274 Strete, H.R. ii. p. 210.

1278 Strete, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1295 Stretes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 128.
1334 Strete, ibid. ii. p. 60.
1375 Strete, ibid. ii. p. 349.
1478–80 Strete, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 204.
1484 Strete, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 420.

O.E. *Strǣt*, "a street," "paved way," "road." The spelling *Streat* seems to point to the W.S. forms *Strǣt*, the *Street* spelling is the representative of the non-W.S. *Strēt*.

Sulham.

1428 Suleham, F.A. v. p. 156.

I assume for the first element the O.E. pers. n. *Sula*, for which see the next name.

Sullington.

1085 Sillentone, D.B. i. 16 b.
Silletone, D.B. i. 23 a.
1297 Sullyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 146.
circa 1320 Sillington, T. de N. p. 223.
1361 Sullington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.
1411–2 Sullyngton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 132.
1489 Sullyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 395.
1633–4 Sillington, Vist. Ssx. p. 71.

The first element may be the O.E. pers. n. **Sula*, not recorded by Searle, but occurring in *Sulangraf*, Cart. Sax. ii. p. 384, *Sulanford* and *Sulanbroc*, ibid. iii. p. 589 (cit. Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., under *Sulham*). But the spellings in *-ill-* above, appearing side by side with those in *-ull-* would rather favour the assumption of an O.E. by-form **Sylla* (< **Sul-ja*). The regular appearance of *-ll-*, in fact, makes this almost certain.

Sutton.

880–5 Súðtún, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Sudtone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1251 Sutton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 72.
1274 Suttone, H.R. ii. p. 208.

1278 Sutton, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.
temp. Edw. I Isabella de Sutheton, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 57.
1316 Sutton, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 251.
circa 1320 Sutton, T. de N. pp, 223, 227. } Subtun, T. de N. p. 227. }
1362 Southeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 251.

O.E. *Sūþ tūn*, "south town." All the *Suttons* in England have the same origin. See the name, for instance, in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.; Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns.; Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns.; and Harrison, Liverpool District Pl.-Ns. The M.E. *u* in Sutton is due to shortening before *-þt-*, and this consonant-combination was assimilated to *-tt-*. For other examples of this assimilation cf. *Norton* above, and *Smithdown* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Swanborough.

Type I.

1085 Suaneberge, D.B. i. 26 b. } Soanberge, D.B. i. 26 a, 27 b. }
1121 Swanberga, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
temp. Rich. I Swaneberge, Abbr. Plac. p. 15.
1278 Swanberg, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1296 Swanbergh, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 300.
1397 Swaneberge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 226.
1428 Swambergh, F.A. v. p. 161.
1439 Swanbergh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 198.
temp. Hen. VI Swamberg, Tax. Eccl. p. 140.

Type II.

1274 Swamberth, H.R. ii. p. 209.

Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns. under *Swanshurst*, gives early forms 1275 *Swanhurste* and 1332 *Suanneshurste*, and says that "*Swan* was not a pers. n. before the Conquest, but by the 13th cent. it had become one. The double *n* in the last form points to the pers. n., and we may read this 'Swann's wood,' M.E. *hurst*, 'a wood.'"

But Grueber quotes *Swan* from a coin in Cnut's reign. Probably the name was *Swān* (cognate with O.Norse *sveinn*, mod. Engl. "swain").

Type I above is O.E. *Swān(es)beorh*, "Swān's hill," and Type II is the O.E. dative *Swān(es)beorge* > M.E. *Swanberwe*, the *-th-* in the spelling being the scribe's error for *-w-* (through confusion of O.E. ƿ ("*wēn*" = *w*) with þ ("*thorn*" = *th*); see *Pulborough* above).

The second element has been entirely changed from O.E. *beorg*, "a hill" to O.E. *burh*, *burg*, "a fortress," "castle," "city." See also *Pulborough* above.

Tangmere.

680? Tangmere, C.D. i. p. 23.
1085 Tangemere, D.B. i. 16 b.
1121 tangamera, Anc. Ch. Pipe Rolls, vol. x. No. 8, p. 12.
1287 Est-, Westtangemere, Abbr. Plac. p. 214.
1314 Tanghemere, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
1397 Tangmere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 226.
1428 Tangmere, F.A. v. p. 171.

The second element is pretty certainly O.E. *mere*, "lake," "pond." For *tang*, *tong* Jellinghaus (Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 321) says "altnord. *tange*, landzunge. Nds. vorsprung höheren landes in die moor- und marschniederungen... *Tange* häufig in Schleswig...etc." He gives from C.D. *tangmére* 1. 23, *on Atange*? 4. 31; and mentions *Garstang* (Lancs.), *Mallerstang* (Westm.) and *Tong(e)* Kt., Leic., Worcs., Sal., Yorks., Lancs. Possibly this *tang-*, despite its Norse origin, may be the first element of Ssx. *Tangmere*. Cf. also *Tangley* (Hants.) and *Tong* in Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns. The O.E. *tang* meant "a pair of tongs" (German *Zange*).

Tarring, West.

Type I.

941 Terringges, C.D. v. p. 269.
946 Terringes, C.D. ii. p. 260.
1085 Terringes, D.B. i. 16 b.

1274 Terringg, H.R. ii. p. 201.
Terring, H.R. ii. p. 219.
1315 Terrynge, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 246.
1348 Terrynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 149.
1397 Terrynge, ibid. iii. p. 226.
1440 Teringe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 200.
1458 Terryngge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 727.

Type II.

1085 Toringes, D.B. i. 21 b, 22 b.
1194 Torring, Abbr. Plac. p. 4.
1252 Torringe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 77.
1253 Torring, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 12.
1278 Torring, Plac. de quo War. pp. 758, 760.
Torrynge, ibid. p. 757.
1284 Torenge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 116.
1335 Torrynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 67.
1411–2 Torryng, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 142.

It seems that the second element was originally O.E. *incg* (*ing*), "a water-meadow." As for the first, Type II seems to contain a pers. n. *Tora*, for which see Searle, p. 457.

C.D. has *Tærstán*, *Terstán streám*, Nos. 633, 652, 752, etc. This *Tær-*, *Ter-* may be the first element in Type I above, but if it be a pers. n., no other authority for it occurs.

Telham Hill, Telham Court.

temp. Edw. I Telham, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 9.

A pers. n. *Tella*, the name of a monk, is found in the Liber Vitae (O.E.T. p. 520) and Förstemann cites *Tello* as a "nomen viri."

Telscombe.

1274 Tetelscombe, H.R. ii. p. 209.
1278 Tetelscumb, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1283 Totelescumbe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 426.
1377 Titlescombe, ibid. iii. p. 6.

The first element I take to be an O.E. pers. n. **Tetel* or **Tetele*, a diminutive of such a name as *Teta*. Searle quotes a continental *Teta* with merely a reference "Piper"; O.E. *Teta* is found in a pl.-n. *Tetanhyl* in Cart. Sax. No. 1002, and C.D. No. 1216. For the second element see O.E. *comb*, *cumb* in Pt II. For the change of M.E. *Tetlescumb* > **Tetlscumb* > (tɛlskəm) cf. M.E. *sedelescumb* > **sedlscumb* > (sɛlskəm) under *Selscombe* above.

Thakeham.

1073 Tacaham, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Tacehā, D.B. i. 29 a.
circa 1320 Techam, T. de N. p. 222.
1351 Thacham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 172.
1361 Thakham, ibid. p. 240.
1421 Thakham, ibid. iv. p. 60.
1633–4 William Apsley of Thackham, Vist. Ssx. p. 8.
1695 Thakeham, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

I take the first element to be O.E. *þaca*; not *þaca*="a roof," "thatch," "cover" (B.-T.), but a nomen agentis with the agent suffix *-a*, and the meaning "thatcher," "coverer." "The thatcher's homestead" is a convincing meaning. For the agent suffix *-a* cf. *hunta* (*huntian*), *wealda* (*wealdan*), *bora* (*beran*) etc. See O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Thorney Island.

1085 Tornei, D.B. i. 17 a.
1122 Þorneie, A.-S. Chron. Laud MS. (E), anno 1066, p. 198.
1288 Thorneye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 100.
1289 Thorneia, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 120.
circa 1320 Thorneye, T. de N. p. 222.
1323 Thorney, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 275.
1383 Thorneye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 57.
1406 Abbas de Thorney, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 19, p. 149.
1432 Thorney, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 152.

The first element is O.E. *þorn*, "thorn," or "thorn-tree." The second is O.E. *ēg*, *īēg* (q.v. under *-ey* in Pt II).

There are numerous *Thorntons* and *Thornleys* in England, most of which have O.E. *þorn* as their first element. But see names in *Thorn-* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and note that the Lancs. *Thornley* and *Thornton* contain as their first element the O.Norse pers. n. *þoran*.

Ticehurst.

1085 Titeherste, D.B. i. 23 a.
1294 Ticehurst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1306 Tychehurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 223.
1316 Tichesherst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
Ticheshurst, F.A. v. p. 133.
1341 Tichehurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 100.
temp. Hen. VI Tichehurst, Tax. Eccl. p. 137.
1452 Tysherst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 254.
1543 Tyseherst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 744.
1633–4 Tysehurst, Vist. Ssx. p. 104.

The first element is probably O.E. *ticcen*, "a kid." Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 31) says that "it is not necessary to assume French influence here, since *-ch-* may have been dropped before *-s* after the syncopation of unstressed *-e-*." He compares *Tisted* (Hants.) < O.E. *Ticcestede* in Cart. Sax. No. 786. But, as Z. later points out, the modern pronunciation (tɑisəst) obviously points to French influence, unless it be explained as a spelling-pronunciation. Björkman (cited by Zachrisson on p. 99) points out that the lengthening of *-i-* is a criterion of French influence (Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen 116, p. 105). For other examples of Norman-French types in modern Sussex names see *Cissbury Hill*, *Maresfield*, and *Marston* above.

Tillington.

960 Tullingtun, C.D. ii. p. 360.
1085 Telentone, D.B. i. 20 b, 21 a.
Telitone, D.B. i. 19 a.
1136 Tulintona, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510
1302–3 Teliton, F.A. v. p. 130.

The first element may be O.E. *Tila*, a shortened form of some name beginning with *Til-*, such as *Tilbeorht*, *Tilbrand*, *Tilhere*, etc., for which Searle gives authority.

Under *Tillbrook*, in Hunts., Skeat gives the form *Tilebroc* from H.R. ii., and compares this Sussex *Tillington*. It must be admitted that the *-e-*, *-u-* spellings above present difficulty. They may, however, be due to confusion of the first element with another pers. n. with *-y-*. Searle quotes *Tyttla* and *Tytela*, but the disappearance of the second *-t-* before *-l-* so early as 960 is very improbable.

Toddington, Tottington.

1073 Totintona, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Totintune, D.B. i. 28 a.
Totintone, D.B. i. 24 b.
1278 Totyngton, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1316 Totington, F.A. v. p. 142.

The first element is the O.E. pers. n. *Tota*, for which cf. *Totancumb*, Cart. Sax. No. 565, and a chart. of 772, No. 208 in Cart. Sax.

This name is a good example of the interchange of medial *-t-* and *-d-* in pl.-ns., which Zachrisson considers to be due to N.-Fr. influence. For remarks on this change see under *Chiddingly* above. In the early forms of the Lancs. *Tottington*, Wyld finds six spellings in *Tot-*, as against one *Todyngton* in 1400.

Tortington.

1085 Tortintone, D.B. i. 25 a.
circa 1260 Tortinton, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. B 3189, p. 377.
1302 Tortytone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 182.
circa 1320 Tortinton, T. de N. p. 229.
1329 Tortinton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 22.
1394 Tortyngton, ibid. iii. p. 185.
1411–2 Tortynton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
1492 Tortyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 411.
1617 Tortington, ibid. p. 481.

I take the first element to be an O.E. **Torhta*, a shortened form of one of the pers. ns. in *Torht-*, of which Searle gives some forty examples (pp. 457, 458).

O.E. **Torhtantūn* > **Tor(h)tantūn* > M.E. *Tortintun* > mod. (tɔ̄tiŋtən).

See O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.

Tottingworth.

1309 Toddyngworth, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 237.

O.E. *Totanweorþ*, "Tota's homestead." See *Tottington* above, and remarks under that name on *Todding-*.

See also O.E. *weorþ* in Pt II.

Treyford (trīfəd, trefəd).

1085 Treverde, D.B. i. 23 a.
1194 Triferd, Abbr. Plac. p. 4.
1256 Treford, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 86.
1274 Treuford, Treferd, H.R. ii. pp. 210, 213.
temp. Hen. VII Treoford, Tresfeld, Tax. Eccl. p. 134.
1605 Treford, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 758.

O.E. *trēōford*. The *-ey-* in the modern name is probably a M.E. spelling for the long tense *ē*.

Tripp Hill.

1296 Roberto Tryppe, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 293.

Tripp is a mod. surname, of which I can find no O.E. ancestor. Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 765, says that *Tripp* is "an early personal name." The earliest examples he cites are (1273) *William Tripp*, Cambs.; *Robert Trippe*, Bedf.; *Gilbert Tripp*, Wilts.; 1 Edw. III (1327) *John Tryp*, Somers.—Kirby's Quest. p. 107.

Trotton.

1085 Traitone, D.B. i. 23 a (bis).
1251 Tratinton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1288 Tradyntona, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 759.

1398 Trayton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 231.
1411–2 Tratton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 133.
1421 Traton alias Tradington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 58.
1631 Tratton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 759.

This may be O.E. **Trotantūn* (for *Trota* see Searle) > M.E. *Trotentun*, with short *-o-* in the trisyllabic word, and subsequent syncopation to *Trotton*. Then the *-a-* forms above would be due to dialectal interchange of *-o-* and *-a-* (see *Clapham* above). The D.B. *Traitone* and 1398 *Trayton* I cannot explain.

Twineham.

1278 Twyney?, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
About 1320 Twynem, T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
1339 Twynam, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 90.
1369 Twynem, ibid. ii. p. 298.
1387 Twynem, ibid. iii. p. 96.
1446 Twynam, ibid. iv. p. 233.
1483 Twynom, Twenem, ibid. iv. p. 414.
1633–4 Twineham, Vist. Ssx. p. 41.

The above forms point to O.E. *hamm* (2), "bend in a river," as the second element. See this word in Pt II.

The name was O.E. (*æt þæm*) *twīgan hamme*, "(at the) double bend," i.e. the place where the stream bent twice.

See Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns., and Herts. Pl.-Ns. under *Twyford*, and O.E. *twī* in Pt II.

Uckfield.

Type I.

1248 Ochefeud, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 5.
1316 Uckfeude, F.A. v. p. 139.
1366 Uckefeld, Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. vol. xxi. p. 161.
1378 Ukkefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 188.
1397 Ukkefeld, Bundell Forisfactum, 21 Rich. II, No. ii. (cited Daniel-Tyssen in Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 189).
1474 Ukkefeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 765.

Type II.

1274 Ulkefeud, H.R. ii. p. 219.
1315 Olkefeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 275.

The 1248 form above points to M.E. *ōke*, O.E. *āc(a)* as the first element. But all the remaining forms have *Ukke-*. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Ogden*, gives two 13th and 14th cent. forms *Uggedene* and *Ugdene*, which he supposes to be corrupt spellings.

Ukke may be the M.E. form of **Uccan*, genitive singular of a pers. n. O.E. **Ucca*, which is not, however, found in O.E., although Searle quotes a continental *Ucco* with merely the reference "Piper."

The forms in Type II are even more unsatisfactory. Were they relative to the North or Midlands they might point to an O.E. **Ulk(eles)feld* from the Norse pers. n. *Ulketill*, cognate with O.E. *Wulfcytel*. But this can hardly be the case in Sussex.

Udimore.

1252 Odmere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 12.
1268 Odimere, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 98.
1278 Odymere, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1293 Odemere, Odimere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 119.
1294 Ordimere, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1296 Odymer, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 296.
1313 Uddmere, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 238.
1315 Oddemere, ibid. p. 249.
1351 Udmere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 170.
1437 Odymer, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 214.
1490 Udymere, ibid. p. 216.
1592 Udymer, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 765.
1695 Udimere, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

The first element is probably O.E. *Uda*. *Uda* is mentioned as a witness to Chs. Nos. 194, 196, 242, 260 in Cart. Sax. (anno circa 770). Moreover Ellis, Introd. to D.B. Index A (Tenants in capite), mentions an *Udi* who held land in Staffs. (D.B. 250 b), and Förstemann, Altd. Nbch., quotes *Uddo* as a "nomen viri."

The *-i-* in the above forms and in the modern *Udimore* is all that remains of the genitive suffix *-an-* of the O.E. **Udanmere*.

The second element was originally O.E. *mere*, "a lake," or possibly *gemǣru*, "a boundary." There is no sign of the mod. *-more* in the early forms. The modern suffix is probably the descendant of the unmutated **gemāre* (q.v. under *Morley* above), or possibly it was O.E. *mōr*, "a moor."

Upmarden.

Type I (-dene).

1305 Upmerden, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 209.
1314 Upmerden, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 240.
1633–4 Up Marden, Vist. Ssx. p. 92.

Type II (-dūne).

1307 Upmardon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 228.
1397 Upmerdon, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1421 Upmardon, ibid. iv. p. 60.
1428 Upmardon, F.A. v. p. 158.

Simply *Upper Marden*. See *Marden* above. Note here again the usual interchange of M.E. *-den* and *-don* (O.E. *denu* and *dūne*).

Upwaltham (-woltəm).

683 Uualdham? C.D. v. p. 33.
957 Upwaltham, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1085 Walthā, Waltham } D.B. i. 25 b.
1274 Waltham, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1451 Upwaltham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 780.

Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., explains *Waltham* as "the *hām* of *Wealta*," a name not otherwise known.

Later, in Berks. Pl.-Ns. (1911), he quotes *Wealtham*, Cart. Sax. ii. 490 (anno 940), and again *Wealthǣminga* (gen. plu.), Cart. Sax. ii. 285 (anno 909), "where the suffix implies derivation from *hām*, not *hamm*."

"...The absence of the suffix *-an* in charters so early as 909 and 940 suggests that we may regard **Wealthām* as the right form. If we take *hām* to mean 'home' or 'house,' *wealt* must be inferred (from the adj. *unwealt*, 'steady' or 'firm') to mean 'unsteady' or 'infirm,' i.e. ill-built, shattered, or decayed. Cf. Icel. *valtr*, 'easily upset.' If we take the compound to mean 'decayed house,' it is probable enough that it is correct. A common error is to explain *Wealt-* from *weald*, 'a wood'!" (Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., pp. 59, 60.)

I see no reason to disagree with Skeat. See O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Wadhurst.

1274 Wadeherst, Wadah'st, H.R. ii. pp. 207, 219.
1306 Wadehurst, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 223.
1319 Wadeherst, ibid. iv. p. 429.
1633–4 Wadeherst, Vist. Ssx. p. 96.

O.E. *Wadanhyrst*, "Wada's wood." *Wada* is a well-authenticated name in O.E. It is found, for instance, in a pl.-n. *Wadanhlæw* in Cart. Sax. No. 50, and Searle gives almost a column of examples.

Wakehurst Place.

1284 Wakehurst, Abbr. Plac. p. 208.
1296 Wakehurst, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 306.
1440–4 Wakehurst, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 382.

The first element may be an O.E. **waca*, "a watcher," "a guardian." The ordinary word for a guardian was O.E. *weard* (mod. "ward"), but this **waca* (from the base **wak-* seen in *wacian*, "to be awake *or* watchful") may well have existed, although the dictionaries do not mention it. Compare the adj. *wacol*, "wakeful."

Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., takes the first element of *Wakeley* to be O.E. *wacu*, "wake," "watch," "vigil" (i.e. as a festival). But the above explanation is equally probable. For the second element see O.E. *hyrst* in Pt II.

Walberton.

1085 Walburgetone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1203 Wauberton, Abbr. Plac. p. 43.
1252 Walberton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 81.
1274 Walberton, H.R. ii. p. 214.
Walberton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1278 Walburton, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1346 Walburton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 136.
1379 Walberton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 210.
1411–2 Walburton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 135.
1414 Walberton, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 368.

"The tūn of Wealdburh." Searle quotes *Wealdburh* (also *Waltpurgis* (H.G. form), *Walburgis*, circa 780), daughter of Ricardus Rex, legendary king of the Anglo-Saxons, circa 770–80, from Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland.

The development of the name is O.E. *Wealdburhtūn* > *Waldburhtūn* > *Walbur*(*h*)*tun* > *Walberton* (wōbətn). The *-h* of *-burh* was lost before the following *t-*. Cf. *Edburton* above.

Note the 1203 form above, which shows Norman-French diphthongising of *a* to *au* before *l*.

Walderton.

1085 Waldere, D.B. i. 19 a.
1167–8 Walderton, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 197.
1272 Walderton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 48.
1316 Walderton, ibid. p. 281.
1327 Walderton, ibid. ii. p. 1.
1411–2 Waldirton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.
1489 Walderton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 395.

Simply the "tūn of Wealdhere." O.E. *Wealdhere*(*s*) *tūn*. *Wealdhere* is a very common pers. n. in O.E. from the earliest period. The modern *Walter* is a H.G. form of the same name. Cf. also the French *Gauthier* < Lat. **Waltharius*, a Latinised form of the same Gmc. name.

Waldron.

1085 Waldrene, D.B. i. 23 a.
1268 Waudern, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 99.
1278 Walderne, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1284 Walderne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1294 Waldern, Abbr. Plac. p. 235.
1318 Walderne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 153.
1335, 1356 Walderne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. pp. 68, 201.
1487 Waldron, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. C 456, p. 430.

The first element is a pers. n. O.E. *Wealda*, a shortened form of some name like *Wealdhere*, *Wealdhelm*, etc. (cf. preceding name). The 1268 form *Waudern* above shows Norman-French diphthongising of *a* to *au* before *l*. Cf. *Walberton* above.

The second element is O.E. *ærn*, "a house." The modern (wɔ̄(l)drən) shows metathesis of M.E. *-ern* to *-ren*. See O.E. *ærn* in Pt II.

Wannock (wonək).

1. 1085 Walnoch, D.B. i. 21 a.
2. 1361 Wennoke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 236.
3. 1401–2 Wennok, F.A. v. p. 146.

O.E. **Wēāla hnōc*, "the nook of the foreigners." Nos. (2) and (3) above contain the W.S. form **Wēāla hnōc*, No. (1) may contain either W.S. or non-W.S., but the modern form (wonək) is from O.E. **Wālahnōc*, non-W.S. > M.E. *Wălnok* > *Wannok* by assimilation. There is a glen at Wannock, Wannock Glen, a well-known feature of the place. This is certainly the *hnōc* referred to. Possibly the inhabitants took refuge in this glen, and held it for a time against the English.

See O.E. *āc*, **hnōc*, and *wealh* in Pt II.

Warbleton.

Type I.

1085 Warborgetone, D.B. i. 18 b.
Warblitetone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1105 Warborgultona, Fr. Ch. No. 776, p. 281.
temp. Hen. III Warbilthun, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 783.
1238 Warblinton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 55.
1273 Warbleton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 51.

1316 Warbelton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 281.
1368 Warbelton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 186.
1411–2 Warbulton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 136.
1633–4 Warbleton, Vist. Ssx. p. 48.

Type II.

1332 Warblington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 50.
1351 Warblyngton, ibid. p. 170.

Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 126, footnote), commenting on Stolze, who noted some cases of interchange of *-l-* and *-r-* in D.B., says that the D.B. *Walburgeton* = *Walberton* (q.v. above), and that *Warborgetone* = *Warbleton*; later 13th cent. *Warbilthun* (Type I, No. 4 above). He cites also from the early Fr. charters the form *Warborgultona.*

This seems to mean that the name *Warbleton* has the same origin as *Walberton* (i.e. O.E. **Wealdburhtūn*). If so the development in the 11th and 12th centuries is identical with that of the latter name, but later on in the former name the *l* and *r* interchanged, and **Walberton* became *Warbelton*, *Warbleton.* This is borne out by the evidence of the above forms, but it is rather curious that the names of two different places in the same county should have an identical origin.

Warminghurst.

Type I.

1278 Wermynghirst, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

Type II.

1251 Worminghurst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 74.
1287 Wornninghurst, Abbr. Plac. p. 214.
1473–4 Wormyngeherst, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 317.
1633–4 Worminghurst / Wormingherst } Vist. Ssx. p. 86.

I take the first element to be O.E. *wyrm*, "a serpent," "reptile," "worm," here used as a pers. n. in the form **Wyrma.* I can find no authority for its use as such in O.E. documents, but it may have been used in popular speech as a kind of

nickname. Cf. the widespread pers. n. *Orm* (from the O.Norse cognate *Ormr*), and the use of this name in Engl. pl.-ns. See, for instance, Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Ormerod* and *Ormskirk*. The second element is O.E. *hyrst*, "a wood" (q.v. Pt II).

Type I is O.E. **Wermanherst* (with Kt. *e* for *y* (> u + i)) and the ancestor of the modern (wɔ̄miŋ(h)əst). O.E. **Wermanherst* > M.E. **Werminghers*t, *-hurst* > **Wærminghurst* (17th cent.) > **Wærminghurst* (18th cent.) > 19th cent. *wā(r)miŋ(h)əst, and with rounding of *ā* after *w* > mod. (wɔmiŋ(h)əst).

Type II is O.E. *Wyrmanhyrst* with the Southern type of the *y* in M.E. > mod. (*wāmiŋəst).

Warnham.

1272 Warneham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 50.
1273–4 Warneham, Abbr. Plac. p. 263.
1325 Wernham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.
1329, 1361 Warnham, ibid. ii. pp. 23, 245.
1411–2 Warnham, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
1492 Warnham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 411.

The first element is an O.E. pers. n. **Werna*, a shortened form of some name like *Wernbeorht*, *Wernweald*, *Wernwulf*, etc. The form *Werna* is found in O.E. pl.-ns. *Wernanbroc*, C.D. No. 270, *Wernanford*, C.D. Nos. 577, 1337, *Wernanwyll*, C.D. No. 1142.

For the development of O.E. *Wer-* to modern (wɔ-) cf. preceding name.

Warningcamp.

1085 1. Warnechā, D.B. i. 24 b.
2. Garnecampo, D.B. i. 29 a.
1316 Wornecamp, F.A. v. p. 142.
circa 1320 Warnekomp, T. de N. p. 222.
1352 Warnecampe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 179.
14th cent. Warnecamp, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 151.
1407 Warncamp, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 358.
1422 Warncamp, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 171.

For the first element, O.E. *Werna*, cf. preceding name. The second is most probably O.E. *camp*, *comp*, "camping-ground" (q.v. Pt II, and under *Barcombe* above).

The D.B. No. 2 form above shows the usual Lat.-Fr. initial *g-* for a Gmc. *w-*. Cf. *guêpe* and *wasp*, *garder* and *ward*, *Gauthier* and O.E. *Waldhere*, O.H.G. *Walthari*.

It is also possible that the first element was O.E. *Werneca*, a diminutive of *Werna*, and the second O.E. *hām*, as suggested by the D.B. No. 1 spelling. In this case O.E. **Werneca*(*n*)*hām* > late O.E. **Wernecam* > M.E. *Wernecamp* by confusion with the element *-camp*. Cf. the various types under *Barcombe* above.

Warninglid.

1460–80 Warnyngled, Cowfold Accs., Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 322.
1477–8 Warmyngled, ibid. p. 320.

The above forms are very late, but I think we are justified in assuming as the first element the O.E. pers. n. *Werna* (see the two preceding names).

For the second element I suggest an O.E. **gelǣd*, either (1) a mutated form of O.E. *gelād* (< Gmc. **galáiđi-* < **galaiþ-'*), or (2) an analogical form due to the influence of O.E. *gelǣdan*, which is connected both in meaning and form. Cf. *Portslade* above.

O.E. **Wernan*(*ge*)*lǣd*, "the road or pathway of Werna," would normally give rise to the two forms above and to the modern (wɔ̄niŋlid), the final vowel being raised, probably because unstressed.

Wartling.

Type I.

1243 Wertlinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 59.
1279 Werthlinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
1293 Wertlinge, ibid. p. 119.
1318 Wreteling, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 153.
1356 Wertlyng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 198.
1378 Wertlinge, ibid. iii. p. 12.

Type II.

1301 Wirtlinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.

Type III.

1317 Wortling, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 254.
1407 Wortling, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 310.

I take the first element to be an O.E. pers. n. **Wyrtele*, a diminutive of **Wyrta*, a shortened form of such a name as *Wyrtgeorn*. The second element may be the O.E. *ing*, *incg*, "a meadow," or else the original form was O.E. *Wyrt(e)lingas*, "descendants of Wyrtela." Either is possible.

Type I has the Kentish vowel *e* for *y* (> u + i); Type II has the E. Midland; Type III the Southern. On the development of O.E. *Wer-* to mod. (wɔ̄-) see *Warminghurst* above.

Washington.

947 Wassingatune, C.D. v. p. 312.
1085 Wasingetune, D.B. i. 28 a, 29 a.
1128–55 Gausingeton, Fr. Ch. No. 1140, p. 409.
1146 Gasingetune, Washington } ibid. No. 1126, p. 403.
1280 Wassington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 109.
1325 Wassington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1397 Washington, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1448 Wassyngton, 1472 Wasshyngton } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 787.
1487 Waysshington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 386.

Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., p. 325, finds for *Washingley* the earlier forms *Wasinglei* in D.B. and *Wassinglee* in the Ramsey Chartulary. He explains the name as "the meadow of the Wassings," comparing Ssx. *Washington* and the D.B. form above.

The Sussex name is O.E. *Wassingatūn*, "tūn of the W.'s." Searle does not mention the *Wassings* themselves, but cites *Wassa* from a pl.-n. *Wassanburn*, Cart. Sax. No. 236, C.D. No. 140. The mod. (woʃiŋtən) of course is due to the analogy of the common verb *wash*.

The 1487 form seems to show a M.E. diphthongising of *a* to *ai-* before *sh-*. Cf. early forms of *Ashford*, *Ashport* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., also Morsbach, Me. Gr. § 87, Anm. 3.

Wepham.

Type I.

1167–8 Wephā, Pipe Rolls, vol. xii. p. 192.
1247 Wepham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 64.
1324 Wepham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. pp. 277, 279.
1333 Wepham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 55.
1422 Wepham, ibid. iv. p. 71.
16th cent. Wepeham, Exch. Red Bk. vol. i. p. 92.

Type II.

1267 Wappeham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 97.
1303 Wapham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 136.
1324 Waphame, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 278.

Westbourne.

1267 Westburne, Abbr. Plac. p. 166.
1274 Westburn, H.R. ii. p. 213.
1304 Westbourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 197.
1337 Westborne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 172.

O.E. *Westburna*, "west brook." Cf. *Eastbourne* above, and see O.E. *burna* in Pt II.

Westerton.

1269 Westreton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 100.
1278 Westerton, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.

Is this the "wester town" simply, i.e. the town *further west*? Cf. *Eastergate* above.

Westham.

1298 Westhame, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 153.
1307 Westham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 221.
1311 Westham, Abbr. Plac. p. 313.

1316 Westhamme, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 253.
1331 Westhamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 45.
1338 Westham, ibid. p. 88.
1484 Westham, ibid. iv. p. 421.

O.E. *west hām*, "west homestead." The *Westhamme* forms above point to O.E. *hamm* (1) or (2) "enclosure" or "bend in a river" as the second element. See all three words in Pt II.

Westhampnett.

1274 Hamptonet, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1278 Westh[a]mconett, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1302 Hamptonett? Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
1316 Westhamtonet, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 280.
1379 Westhamtonet, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 210.

O.E. *westhāmtūn* > M.E. *westhămtŭn*. The *-ett* is the N.-Fr. diminutive suffix, mod. Fr. *-ette*. See *Easthampnett* and *Littlehampton* above.

See O.E. *west*, *hām*, and *tūn* in Pt II.

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Westmeston.

Type I.

1085 Wesmestun, D.B. i. 27 a.
1278 Westmeston, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1312 Westmeston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.
1325 Westmeston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1419 Westmeston, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 374.
1478–80 Westmiston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 204.

Type II.

1284 Westmesdon, F.A. v. p. 130.

The first element is probably O.E. *mēōs*, "moss." Cf. *Miswell* above and O.E. *meoswylle*, *-wille* in Cart. Sax.

Type II shows confusion of the second element O.E. *tūn* with O.E. *dūne*. Cf. *Willingdon* below, whose early forms have *-ton*, *-den*, and *-don*.

Weston.

1296 Westetune, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 292.

O.E. *west(e) tūn*, "west town." Cf. *Easton*, *Norton*, and *Sutton* above, and see *west* and *tūn* in Pt II.

Whatlington.

1085 Watlingetone, D.B. i. 18 b.
1294 Watlington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 124.
1309 Whatlington, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 226.
1319 Hwatlington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 429.
1331 Wathlington, ibid. ii. p. 44.

"The tūn of the Watlings," O.E. **Wætlingatūn*. The name of the famous *Watling Street* appears in O.E. variously as *Watlinga-*, *Wætlinga-*, and *Weatlinga strǽt*. C.D. has *Huætlinctún*, No. 311, *Watlinworth*, No. 809, but neither of these pl.-ns. has been successfully identified.

O.E. *Wætling(as)* is generally taken to mean "sons of Wætla," and there is a tradition that a king of that name helped to build the famous way, but this is unsupported by historical evidence. See Duignan's long article on *Watling Street* in Staffs. Pl.-Ns.

Whitehall.

1245 Witele? Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 61.

Wick.

1085 Wiche, D.B. i. 24 a.
1266 La Wyk, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 93.
1274 Wyke, H.R. ii. p. 217.
1278 Wyk (Westiwyk), Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1318 Wyke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 290.
About 1320 Wyke, T. de N. p. 224.
1327 La Wyke, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 158.
1446 Wyke, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 232.

O.E. *wīc*. The normal development of the O.E. nom. *wīc* is modern (wɑitʃ). On (wik) see Pt II.

Wiggonholt.

1085 Wigentone? D.B. i. 19 a.
1218 Wigenholt, Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216–25), p. 207.
1304 Wickenholt, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 136.
1316 Wygenholte, F.A. v. p. 142.
1333 Wykenholte, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 167.
1399 Wygenholte, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 265.

Skeat derives the first element of the Herts. *Wigginton* from O.E. *Wicgan*, gen. sing. of the common pers. n. *Wicga*. But this would normally give a mod. (*widžin-).

I hazard the theory that the Ssx. *Wiggonholt* < O.E.* *Wicganholt*, "Wicga's wood" (*ċġ* = front stop). This O.E. *Wicganholt* later > * *Wiggnholt* by syncopation of the *-a-* and unfronting of *-ċġ-* to *-g-* before *n*.

This would develop normally into a modern (wigənəlt). But it is unsatisfactory.

Wildham Wood.

1085 Wildene? D.B. i. 21 b.
Wiledene? D.B. i. 21 a.

Willingdon.

Type I (-dūne).

1085 Wilendone, D.B. i. 19 a, b, 21 a, 22 a.
Willendone, D.B. i. 19 a.
1229 Wylindon, Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227–31), p. 232.
1274 Willindon, H.R. ii. pp. 206, 207.
Wylindon, H.R. ii. p. 204.
1309 Wylindon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 235.
1311 Wilingdon, Abbr. Plac. p. 313.
1317 Willendon, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 254.
1351 Willyngdon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 169.
1372 Wilyndon, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, p. 28.
1428 Welingdon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 119.

Type II (-dene).

1248 Wilenden
Wylinden } Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 67.

Type III (-tūn).

1633–4 John Parker of Willington, Vist. Ssx. p. 9.

The first element is the O.E. *Willan-*, gen. sing. of *Willa*, probably a short form of some name in *Wil-*. Searle gives it as "local" in *Willandic*, Cart. Sax. No. 466, and cites besides four more examples (Onomast. p. 497). Type I O.E. **Willandūn* is the ancestor of the modern name; Type II has *-dene*; Type III *-tūn*.

Wilmington.

Type I.

1294 Wilmington, Abbr. Plac. p. 235.
1314 Wilmyngton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
circa 1320 Wilmetun, T. de N. p. 227.
1333 Wilminton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 58.
1439 Wilmyngtona, ibid. iv. p. 198.

Type II.

1372 Wilmingdon, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, pp. 27, 303.

Searle cites O.E. *Wilman* as local from *Wilmanleahtun, to Wilmanforda*, Cat. Sax. No. 946, C.D. Nos. 1205, 1312. But these names point rather to an O.E. **Wilma* than to *Wilman*. *Wilma* is probably not the same name as *Willelm, Wilhelm* (mod. *William*) for which see Searle, p. 498.

O.E. **Wilmantūn* > normally mod. *Wilmington*.

See O.E. *tūn* and *dūn* in Pt II.

Winchelsea.

1165–6 Winchelsea, Pipe Rolls, vol. ix. p. 90.
1241 Wynchelse, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1279 Winchelesey, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
temp. Edw. I Wynchelse, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 4.
1307 Winchelseye, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 222.
1322, 1333 Winchelsey, ibid. pp. 268, 297.
1374 Winchelse, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 136.
1415 Wynchelsey, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 371.
1487 Winchelsey, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 387.

O.E. **Wincelesēā* or **wincelesēg*, "island *or* water in an angle of land" (O.E. *wincel*, "a corner," cf. N.H.G. *winkel*). See *-ey* in Pt II.

Wineham.

1085 Windehā, D.B. i. 28 b.
Wingehā? D.B. i. 27 b.
1274 Wyndeham, H.R. ii. p. 201.
Windeham, H.R. ii. p. 202.
1278 Wyndeham, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

Wiston.

1169–70 Wistaneston, Pipe Rolls, vol. xiii. p. 139.
1202 Wictstaneston, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1251, 1284 Wisteneston, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 71, 114.
1292 Wystenestone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 113.
1472 Wyston, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 828.
temp. Hen. VI Wystenestone, Tax. Eccl. p. 134.
1633–4 Wisneston, Vist. Ssx. p. 88.

"The tūn of Wīgstān," a well-known O.E. pers. n.; see the examples in Searle, p. 492. The modern name shows loss of the medial syllable—O.E. **Wīgstānestūn* > **Wī(h)stānestūn* > **Wĭstănestŭn* < **Wis(tns)tun*. The unpronounceable **Wis-(tns)tun* became *Wiston* by dropping the medial *-tns-*. See "loss of syllables" in Phonology above, and O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.

Withdean.

1278 Wytendenu, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

Withyham, Withiam (wĭðihæm).

1326 Wydyham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 830.
1354 Withinhamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 188.
1371 Withiham, ibid. p. 313.
1372 Withiham, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, pp. 27, 303.
1450 Wethyham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 246.
1633–4 Wythyham, Vist. Ssx. p. 14.

The first element is O.E. *wiþig*, "withy," "willow." This is a common element in pl.-ns. *Withy Grove* (nr. Manchester),

Withyford, Glouc.; *Wiðiglea*, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 830, col. 1, =? Withiel Flovey, Somers.

The second element is O.E. *hamm*, (1) "enclosure," or (2) "bend in a river."

Wittering.

Type I.

683? Wihttringes, C.D. v. p. 33.
957? Wystrynges, C.D. ii. p. 341.
1230 Wictringes, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
1278 Wystringes, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1280 Westwytryng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 73.
1337? Westwyctryng, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 831.
1359 Wyghtryngge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 216.
1391 Wystryng, Early Stat. Chich., Archaeologia xlv. p. 228.
1428 Wyghtrynge, F.A. v. p. 170.
1501 Estwyghtryng, Westwyghtryng } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 831.

Type II.

1226 Wactringes, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.

O.E. *Wihtheringas*, either patronymic or = "the meadow-land, watery-meadow of *Wihthere*," for which name see Searle, p. 494.

Searle quotes an O.E. pl.-n. *Wihtheringfalod*, Cart. Sax. No. 779, which contains this patronymic.

I cannot account for Type II *Wactringes*, if it be genuine. See O.E. *ing*, *incg* in Pt II.

Wivlesfield.

1253 Wyvelesfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 83.
1325 Wyvelesfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1407 Wivelesfeld, ibid. iii. p. 317.
1408 Wyvelesfeld, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 359.
1409 Wivelesfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1485 Wyvelesfeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 831.

O.E. **Wifelesfeld*, "the field of Wifel." Searle quotes *Wifel*

from an O.E. pl.-n. *Wifelesford*, Cart. Sax. No. 699, C.D. No. 1109, also *Wifelesham*, Cart. Sax. No. 1067, C.D. No. 1236.

Walker finds this pers. n. in the early forms of the Derby. *Wilsthorpe* and *Willesley* (q.v. Derby. Pl.-Ns.). See O.E. *feld* in Pt II.

Wodmancote, Woodmancote.

1085 Odemanscote, D.B. i. 28 b.
temp. Hen. III Wodemannecote, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 837.
1319 Wodmancote, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 261.
1324 Wodmancote, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 318.
14th cent. Wodmancote, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv. p. 150.
1411–2 Wodmancote, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 140.

Either "the woodman's dwelling" or "Woodman's dwelling." Searle takes *Wudeman(n)* as a pers. n. in *Wudemannestun* in Cart. Sax. No. 1289, also a *Wudeman* as a tenant of Queen Ēādgȳþ from C.D. No. 918, and Dipl. Angl. 427.

Either is equally probable.

Woodcote.

1301 Wodecote, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 175.
1337 Wodecote, ibid. ii. p. 78.

See O.E. *wudu* and *cot* in Pt II.

Woodhurst.

1397 Wodehurst, Bundell Forisfactum, 21 Richard II, No. 11, cit. Daniel-Tyssen in Malling Surv., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxi. p. 190.

O.E. *wuduhyrst*. See both elements in Pt II.

Woolavington.

incerto tempore Hen. III Wollaventon, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1268 Wollavington, ibid. p. 321.
1274 Wlavinton, H.R. ii. p. 214.

1278 Wollavyeton, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1288 Ullaventon, Abbr. Plac. p. 217.
1316 Wollavyton, F.A. v. p. 143.
circa 1320 Wllaveton, T. de N. p. 224.
1397 Wol-Lavington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 227.
1411–2 Wullavington, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

"The tūn of Wulflāf," O.E. *Wulflāfantūn*, with substitution of the weak genitive suffix in *-an* for the strong in *-es*. The O.E. **Wulflāfestūn* is the ancestor of *Woollaston* in Staffs. (on which see Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns.).

The name *Wulflāf* is well-authenticated in O.E.; see the examples in Searle.

See also *Barlavington*, and compare remarks under *Lavington* above.

Woolbeding.

1274 Wilbedinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 55.
1283 Wolbedinge, ibid. p. 84.
1308 Wolbeding, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 141.
1316 Wolbedinge, Wolbeddinge, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. pp. 249, 252.
1324 Wolbedinge, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 280.
1337 Wolbedynge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 80.
1381 Wulbedinge, ibid. iii. p. 36.
1411–2 Wulbedyng, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 131.

Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns., under *Edingale*, says "...the best authorities...take *Woolbedington* from O.E. *Wulfbædingtūn*...." The difficulty is that no **Wulfbæd* is recorded in O.E.

There may have been an O.E. **Wulfbeadu*, but I can give no other instance of *-beadu* as a second element in a pers. n., although it is common as a first.

Then again, if **Wulfbeadu* meant "war-wolf," we should expect to find it in the usual form *Beaduwulf*. But the reconstruction of **Wulfbeadu* is very tempting, and it jumps with the above forms.

Worth.

Type I (Werth).

1274 Werth, H.R. ii. p. 210.
1337 La Werthe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 79.

Type II (Worth).

1278 Worth (bis), Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1302 Worthe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 180.
1315 Worth, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.
1325 Worthe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 207.
Worthe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 328.
1327 Wourth, ibid. ii. p. 3.
1439 Worthe, ibid. iv. p. 198.

O.E. *weorþ*, "enclosed land." Strictly speaking, Type I represents O.E. *weorþ* > M.E. *werth*; Type II is O.E. *weorþ* > M.E. *wurth*. Both types give rise to a modern (wɅ̄þ).

Worthing.

1328 Werthing, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.
1408 Worthyng
1456 Wordyng
1587 Worthing
} Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 843.

The form *Worthing* seems to be practically synonymous with O.E. *weorþ* (q.v. in Pt II). Kemble has *andlang streámes in wiððan weorðing* (C.D. iii. p. 391, No. 262). B.-T. cites also the O.E. forms *worþig*, *worþign*, dat. *worþine*, "close," "enclosed place." Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns. p. xix, says that "the latter forms (i.e. *worþign*, *worþine*) have frequently, especially in Salop, hardened into *wardine*, e.g. *Shrawardine*, *Belswardine*, *Pedwardine*, *Cheswardine*, etc., and in the S.W. have become *worthy*, as in *Holsworthy*, *King's Worthy*."

Wyseberg, Wisborough Green.

1287 Wyberg, Abbr. Plac. p. 214.
1306 Wiseberg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 138.

1409 Wysburgh, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 826.
1411–2 Wisebergh, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 138.

The second element was certainly originally O.E. *beorg*, *beorh*, "hill" (q.v. Pt II). The modern *Wyseberg* (= wɑizbə) preserves this suffix to-day. The other modern form *Wisborough* shows the same confusion between M.E. *-bergh* and *-burgh* that we have seen in *Pulborough* and *Swanborough*. The first element was probably O.E. *wīsa*, "a wise man," possibly used here as a pers. n., or else a shortened form of such a name as *Wīslāc*, *Wīsgār* etc., for which see Searle.

Yapton.

1294 Yapeton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 126.
1314 Yabeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1315 Yabeton alias Abyndone, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 247.
1316 Yabitone, ibid. p. 249.
Yabeton, F.A. v. p. 143.
1361 Yabeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 245.
1379 Yabeton, ibid. iii. p. 27.
1411–2 Yapton, Subs. Roll, Hen. IV, Ssx. Arch. Soc. x. p. 137.
1492 Yapton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 411.
temp. Hen. VI, Jabiton, Tax. Eccl. p. 141.

Searle records a name *Eappa* < *Eadbeorht*, and such a name as **Eabba* may be the first element in Sussex *Yapton*. The *Y-* might then be due to the so-called "pre-iotization," for which cf. *York* > *Eoforwīc*, and the common spelling *yearth*, *yearthe* in the Prayer-Book of 1549.

***Younsmere.**

1296 Yonesmere, Lewes Subs. Roll, Ssx. Arch. Soc. ii. p. 295.
1428 Jonesmere, F.A. v. p. 162.

PART II

THE PRINCIPAL SEPARATE ELEMENTS IN SUSSEX PLACE-NAMES

A. *Personal names.*

(A hyphen - after a name denotes that it is a shortened form, e.g. *Ægel-* = *Ægelbeorht*, *Ægelwine*, *Ægelwulf*, etc.)

1. *Historical and quasi-historical names.*

Æddi (*Ædde*)	Adsdean.
Ælfrēd	Alfriston (Type II).
Ælfrīc	Alfriston (Type I).
Ælfsige	Alciston.
Ælfwine	Elstead (Type I).
Ælf-	Elstead (Type II).
Æsc	Ashburnham, Ashfold.
Æsca	Ashdown, Ashington.
Bebba (**Bæbba*)	Bebyngton (Type II), Bepton (Type III).
Bola	Bolebrook, Bolney.
Bōtwuf / **Bōtulf**	Botolphs or Buttolphs.
Brihthelm	Brighton.
Budda	Buddington.
Cēnrēd	Kirdford.
Cissa	Chichester, Cissbury Hill.
Colman	Coleman's Hatch.
Crāwe (see (3) below)	Crawley, Crowhurst, Crowlinke.
Cudda	Cudlawe or Cudlowe.
Eadburg, -burh	Edburton.
Ecca	Echinham.
Eomǣr	Imberhorne.
Gōdwine	Goodwood

Hæsten	Hastings.
Herebeorht	Harbreating.
Horsa (see (3) below)	Horsey(?), Horsham, Horsted, Horsted Keynes.
Icel	Icklesham.
Lēō, Lion	Lyminster.
Ninian (*Nynias, Nennius*)	Ninfield.
Offa	Offham, Offington.
Plega	Playden.
Wætlinga	Whatlington.
Wealdburg	Walberton, Warbleton.
Wealdhere	Walderton.
Wīgstān	Wiston.
Wlencing	Lancing.
Wulflāf	Woolavington.

2. *Mythological names.*

Becca (in Wīdsīþ)	Beckley.
Finn (Wīdsiþ, Beowulf)	Findon.
Fitela (Beowulf)	Fittleworth.
Hyge- (*Hygelāc* in Beowulf)	Highden.
Scilling (Wīdsiþ)	Shillinglee.
Wada (Wīdsiþ)	Wadhurst.

3. *Names which may either be pers. ns. or names of animals or birds.*

Catt	Catsfield Place.
Cealfa	Chalvington.
Crāwe (see (1) above)	Crawley, Crowhurst, Crowlinke.
Earna	Earnley.
Fisc	Fishbourne.
Horsa (see (1) above)	Horsey(?), Horsham, Horsted.

4. Other personal names.

Ægel-	Hailsham.
Afa	Avisford.

?*Angel-	Hangleton.
?Angemǣr	Angmering.
Babba	Babintone (Type I).
Bald-, Beald-	Balcombe (?), Baldslow.
Beadinga	Beddingham.
Beadingas Beada	Beeding.
Bean-	Binsted (?).
*Bēānhere	Binderton.
*Beofa	Bevendean.
Beorga	Bersted.
Beorn	Barnham.
Beornlāf	Barlavington, Bareton.
Bicga	Bignor.
Bill, *Bylle	Bilsham.
Billing	Billingshurst.
Blaca	Blackboys (?), Blackham, Blackstone (?).
Blæcca	Blachington.
Boda	Bodiam.
Braccol, -ele	Bracklesham.
*Brihtele	Brightling.
Bucga	Bognor.
*Bunga	Buncton (?).
Bynele (*Byne*)	Bineham (early forms).
*Cæga (*Ceg-*, *Ceig-* in C.D.)	Chailey.
Cedda	Chiddingly, Chidham, Chidhurst.
Cēōl-	Chilgrove (?).
*Ceorllāc	Charleston (early forms).
*Cice	Chick Hill.
Cild, Cilda	Chiltington (?).
?Clima	Climping (?).
Cola	Colworth.
*Crochere	Crocker Hill.
Cuca	Cuckfield, Cuckmere Haven.
Dealla (**Dælla*)	Dallington.

Duddel	Duddleswell.
Dunna	Donnington.
Dunneca	Duncton.
Dyddel	Didling or Dudelyng.
Dyra	Durrington.
***Eabba**	Yapton (?).
Eald	Albourne (?) (see Pt I), Aldsworth.
Ealdinga **Ealda**	Aldingbourne, Aldworth.
Ealdheringa	(possibly in) Aldrington (q.v. Pt I).
Ealh-	Albourne.
Eamhere	Amberley.
Eardinga **Earda**	Ardingly.
Ecg	Egdean.
Eorla	Arlington.
Esa	Easebourne.
Fǣr-	Fairlight, Ferring.
Folc- **Fulc-**	Folking or Fulking.
Fram-	Framfield.
Fripu-	Friston.
Gār-	Goring.
Gefwine **Gefa**	Jevington.
***Gylda**	Guildford or Guldeford.
Hadd	Hadlow Down (?) (see Pt I).
Haneca	Hankham.
Heōþgar	Lurgashall or Lugershall.
Hicca	Hickstead (?).
Hring-	Ringmer.
Hrōþheorht, see *Robertus*.	
***Hrōþhere**	Rotherbridge(?), Rotherfield.
Hrōþinga	Rottingdean (?).
Hun	Hunston.
Hunda	Houndean.
Icca	Itchenor, Itchingfield.

Ipa	Iping.
Lude	Lodsworth.
***Lyde**	Lidsey.
Lufa (masc.) **Lufu** (fem.)	Lavington.
Lulla	Lullington.
Mada	Madehurst.
***Mæll(a)**	Malling.
M.E. **Maudelayn** (= *Μαγδαληνή*)	Maudlin or Maundling.
Milda	Milton (?).
Munda	Mountfield (?), Mundham.
Ōfa	Oving, Ovingdean.
Otta	Otham.
***Pæcce**	Pashley (?), Patcham, Patching.
***Paga, Pæcga**	Pagham.
***Pefene, Pefe-**	Pevensey.
Port	Portfield, Portslade.
Pūna	Poynings.
***Raca**	Rackham, Racton.
Ræda, Rada	Rodmell (?) (see Pt 1).
Lat. **Robertus**	Robertsbridge (or Rotherbridge; see Pt 1).
Rūga	Roffey or Roughey, Rogate.
Rumbeald, -bold	Rumboldswhyke.
***Ruta**	Rottingdean (?).
Sædel	Saddlescombe, Sedlescombe or Selscombe.
Sælāf	Salvington.
Scīra	Sherrington.
Scrippa	Shripney.
Sidele	Sidlesham.
Stedda	Stedham.
***Stoppa**	Stopham.
Sulla, *Sylle	Sulham, Sullington.
***Sunting**	Sompting or Sumpting (?).
Swān	Swanborough.
***Syngel**	Singleton.

Tær-, Ter- (in C.D.)	Tarring.
Tella	Telham Hill.
***Tetele**	Telscombe.
Tila	Tillington.
Torhta	Tortington.
Totta, Tota	Toddington or Tottington, Tottingworth.
M.E. **Tripp** = O.E.?	Tripp Hill.
Trota	Trotton.
Ucca	Uckfield.
Uda	Udimore.
Wassinga **Wassa**	Washington.
Wealda	Waldron.
Werna	Warnham, Warningcamp, Warninglid.
Wicga	Wiggonholt (?).
Wifel	Wirlesfield.
Wihthere	Wittering.
Willa	Willingdon.
Wilma.	Wilmington.
Wīsa (*Wislāc, Wīsgār*, etc.)	Wyseberg or Wisborough Green.
Wudeman	Woodmancote.
***Wulfbeadu**	Woolbeding (?).
***Wyrma**	Warminghurst.
***Wyrtele**	Wartling.

B. *Elements in Sussex place-names which are other than personal names.*

(Research on such elements has been carried out by Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II; Jellinghaus, Engl. und Niederdeutsche Ortsnamen, Anglia xx. pp. 257–334, and Middendorff, Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch, Halle, 1902. To avoid needless repetition I have frequently referred to these authorities for the distribution of the elements both in O.E. and Mod. E. In every case, however, I have given a full list of Sussex names which contain the element under discussion.)

1. The element *-ham.* This may either be O.E. *hām*, "homestead," or O.E. *hamm*, (1) "an enclosure," (2) "a bend in a river." Without O.E. forms it is impossible to decide definitely, but *-mm* spellings in M.E. make the derivation from *hamm* very tempting. See Wyld and Jellinghaus, on *hamm*, cf. Kemble's remarks in C.D. iii. Preface.

SUSSEX NAMES. (*a*) O.E. *hamm.* Barcombe (early forms), Beddingham, Felpham, Ham Manor, Hamsey, Twineham.

(*b*) O.E. *hām.* Appledram, Ashburnham, Barnham, Bilsham, Bineham, Birdham, Blackham, Bodiam, Bosham, Burpham, Chidham, Clapham, Eartham, Echinham, Graffham, Greatham, Hailsham, Hankham, Hardham, Higham, Icklesham, Kingsham, Marsham, Mundham, Northiam, Offham, Otham, Pagham, Parham, Patcham, Piecombe (see Pt 1), Rackham, Shoreham, Sidlesham, Slaugham, Stedham, Stopham, Sulham, Telham Hill, Thakeham, Upwaltham, Warnham, Wepham, Withyham or Withiam.

(*c*) *No early forms.* Ambersham, Barham, Bedham, Bittlesham, Boreham Street, Brookham, Buckham, Chestham Park, Cokeham, Coldwaltham, Coolham, Cootham, Crowham, Ersham, Flansham, Hambrook, Horeham Road, Magham, Mallydame(?), Muntham, Westham.

2. The element *-ing.* See Alexander's article in Essays and Studies, vol. ii. pp. 158 ff., Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II. *-ing* may be

(*a*) Medial *-ing-* representing O.E. *-an-* genitive singular, or *-inga-* gen. plu. of the patronymic, or *-wine* as the second element of a pers. n., or else it may be O.E. *ing*, *incg*, "water meadow," on which see Wyld, or even *-in*, *-egn*, adjectival suffix.

(*b*) Final *-ing(s)*, patronymic or = "water-meadow."

(*c*) Final *-ling*, a patronymic of a pers. n. ending in *-ol*, *-ele.*

SUSSEX NAMES in *-ing-*. (*a*) *medial.* Aldingbourne, Aldrington, Angmering (see early forms), Ardingly, Arlington, Ashington, Atherington (< O.E. *Æþelwinetūn*), Babintone *or* Bebyngton, Barlavington, Beddingham, Billingshurst, Blachington, Buddington, Chalvington, Chiddingly, Chiltington, Dallington,

Donnington, Durrington, Echin(g)ham, Folkington, Funtington, Hellingly Hollington, Itchingfield, Jevington (< O.E. **Gefwinetūn or *Gefantūn*), Lavington, Lidlington, Lordington, Lullington, Novington, Ovingdean, Piddinghoe, Pippingford Park, Racton (early forms in *Rakin*—), Rottingdean, Runtington, Rustington, Salvington, Sherrington, Shillinglee (O.E. pers. n. *Scilling*), Storrington, Strettington, Sullington, Tillington, Toddington *or* Tottington, Tortington, Tottingworth, Waddington, Warminghurst, Warningcamp, Warninglid, Washington, Whatlington, Willingdon, Wilmington, Woldringfold, Woolavington.

(*b*) Final *-ing(s)*. Beeding, Climping, Faulking *or* Folking *or* Fulking, Ferring, Fletching, Fyning, Goring, Harbreating, Harting, Iping, Lancing (< O.E. *Wlencing*, see Pt I), Malling, Oving, Patching, Peppering, Poling, Sompting *or* Sumpting, Steyning, Tarring, Wittering, Woolbeding, and Hastings and Poynings, with *-s*.

(*c*) Final *-ling*. Ashling, Birling Gap, Brightling, Cockmarling, Didling *or* Dudelyng, Ditchling, Guestling, Maundling *or* Maudlin, Wartling.

3. M.E. and Mod. Engl. *-mere* and *-more*. Many names containing M.E. *mere* may be derived either from O.E. *mere*, "lake," "pond," or O.E. *gemǣru*, "boundary," and similarly names containing M.E. *-more* may go back to O.E. *mōr*, "moor," or to **gemāre*, an unmutated form of *gemǣru*. In the absence of evidence from O.E. it is impossible to be certain. On *gemǣru* see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Moreton* in Pt I, for *mere* see Jellinghaus, Engl. und Ndd. Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 306.

SUSSEX NAMES. (i) *-mere*. Cuckmere Haven, Falmer, Haremere Hall, Keymer (probably O.E. *-mere*), Linchmere, Marden, Stanmer, Tangmer, Udimore (early forms all in *-mer(e)*). (ii) *-more*. Codmore Hill, Tilsmore Corner.

4. *Elements denoting geographical or topographical features.* O.E. *brōc*, "a brook." In Kent and Sussex dialects "brook" means "low-lying ground," not necessarily containing running water (E. D. D.).

For the distribution of O.E. *brōc* and its history see Wyld, Pt I, under *Broughton*, and Part II under *brōc*. See also the

remarks of Jellinghaus on the meaning and derivation of the word (p. 272).

SUSSEX NAMES. Bolebrook, Brookham, Brookhouse, Brook's Green (?), Hambrook, Highbrook, Holbrook, Kidbrooke Park, Parbrook, Tidebrook.

O.E. *burna*, "brook," "stream," "river"; Mod. Scot. *burn* (= bərn). See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Albourne, Aldingbourne, Ashburnham, Caburn, Easebourne, Eastbourne, Ecclesbourne Valley, Fishbourne, Glyndebourn, Nutbourne, Southbourne, Westbourne. Cf. *Bournemouth* in Hants.

O.E. *camp*, "camping ground," a loan-word from Lat. *campus* (Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns.). O.E. *-camp* sometimes alternates in the early forms with *-k + hām*, *-k + hamm*, and also with *-combe*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Barcombe (early forms), Warningcamp.

O.E. *clǣg*, "clay," "mud," "slime." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Clayton and Clayton Urban.

O.E. *cnæp*, "top," "cop," "vertex." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Knepp Castle.

O.E. *cnoll*, "hillock"; cf. Dan. *knold*, Swed. *knöl*, and Welsh *cnol* (Skeat, Etym. Dict.); Jellinghaus, p. 300, cites *Nolle* in Westphalia, and *Anknol* near Calais. He says the word is not *Celtic*, as Skeat thinks, and refers to Grimm's Wörterbuch, 1467.

SUSSEX NAME. Broomhill (early form *Bromy knoll*).

O.E. **cocc*, "ravine," "narrow valley." See Wyld and Middendorff. Many names beginning with *Cock-* may have as the first element the name of the bird or the O.E. pers. n. *Cocca*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Cocking(?), Cokeham(?), Cockmarling(?).

O.E. *cop*, "top," "head," "crest"; German *kopf*; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAMES. Copsale (< **copes-halh*), Copthorne.

O.E. *cumb*, *comb*, "a hollow in a hill-side," narrow valley." This is a very common element in Engl. pl.-ns. It is originally a Celtic loan-word (Skeat, Etym. Dict. sub *combe*), and is rare in Yorks., Lincs., Lancs., Northumberland, Surrey, and non-existent

in Old East Anglia, Cumberland, Westmoreland (Jellinghaus, p. 301). However it is fairly common in Sussex. There are numerous *Coombe's* in England, and most of the *Compton's* have O.E. *cumb-* as the first element (but not so the Derby. *Compton*; see Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.).

SUSSEX NAMES. Balcombe, Barcombe (see *camp* above and Pt I), Compton, Coombes, Moulescombe, Piecombe (see early forms in Pt I), Prestcomb, Saddlescombe, Sedlescombe *or* Selscombe, Telscombe. See also Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Ortsn. p. 88, for the continental *Kump* = "Bodenfläche, die einem Kumpe, einem Napfe ähnlich ist."

O.E. *dell* (<**dalja*); cf. *dæl*, "dale" in Wyld. *-dale* is never found as a second element in Sussex. The only Sussex name in which *dell* occurs is Arundel (q.v. Pt I).

Mod. Engl. *ey* = (1) *ēā*, "stream," "water," "river." O.Fris. *a, e*; O.S. *aha*; O.H.G. *aha* < Gmc. **ah^{w}a.*

(2) **ēā*, "watery-land," "water-meadow"; O.H.G. *ouwa*; N.H.G. *-aue* < Gmc. **awa* < **aɣ^{w}a.*

(3) O.E. *īēg*, *ēg*, "island," "elevated piece of land, wholly or partially surrounded by water" [Wyld, Pt II].

See also Jellinghaus, p. 279, under *-ey.*

SUSSEX NAMES. Bolney, Hamsey, Horsey, Iden, Ifield, Ifold, Iford, Iham(?), Iridge Place, Langley (early forms *Langenee, Langeneie*), Lidsey, Pevensey (O.E. *ēā*), Pilsey Isle, Selsey (O.E. *ēg*), Shripney (O.E. *ēg*), Thorney, Winchelsea.

O.E. *denu*, "a valley," *denn*, "a retreat." See Wyld. It is often impossible to distinguish these elements in M.E.

SUSSEX NAMES. (1) O.E. *denu.* Adsdean, Belmoredean, Bevendean, Charman Dean, East and West Dean, Denton, Egdean, Findon (early forms), Gosden, Hampden Park, Houndean, Housedean, Iden(?), Marden, Oakendean, Ovingdean, Playden, Rottingdean, Sharnden(?), Standean, Swiftsdean, Upmarden, Withdean. (2) O.E. *denn.* Cranesden(?), Denne Hill, Densworth, Highden(?). These elements often interchange in the early forms with O.E. *dun*, "down," "mountain," "hill," for which see Wyld and Jellinghaus. Examples of this interchange are given in the Introduction, under "Word Formation."

SUSSEX NAMES in *dūn* are Allan Down, Ashdown, Blackdown House, Down Ash, Down House, The Downs, Findon (early forms also in *-den*), Five Ash Down, Hadlow Down, Highdown Hill, Marden and Upmarden (see Pt I), Oakdown, Piltdown, Slindon and Willingdon.

O.E. *feld*, "field"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus. For interchange of *-feld* and *-fald* (q.v. under (9) below) see "Word Formation" in the Introduction.

SUSSEX NAMES. Catsfield, Cuckfield, Enfield Common, Framfield, Freshfield, Hartfield, Heathfield, Henfield, Highfields, Ifield, Isfield, Itchingfield, Jolesfield, Lindfield, Lowfield Heath, Maresfield, Mayfield, Mountfield, Netherfield, Ninfield, Portfield (q.v. Pt I), Rotherfield, Salsfield Common, Staplefield, Uckfield, Watersfield, Westfield, Wirlesfield.

The local pronunciation of *-field* as a second element is (-vəl), with loss of *d* and initial voicing. Hence *Heathfield* (= Hɛfl), *Rotherfield* (= radəvəl) or (rað əvəl).

O.E. *ford*. On *ford* and the Norse *fjorðr* see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Avisford, Broadford Bridge, Dumpford, Ford, Ford's Green (pers. n.?), Guilford, Iford, Kirdford, Pippinford Park, Redford, Seaford, Treyford, Twiford.

O.E. *grāf*, dat. *grāfe*, "grove." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Birch Grove, Boxgrove, Chilgrove, Michelgrove. The name *Gravenhurst* (no early forms), as pronounced (greivənhāst), may be due to a spelling pronunciation from M.E. **Gravenhurst*, or it may contain a (weak) inflected form of O.E. *græf*, "trench," for which see *Graffham* above.

O.E. *haga*, "hedge," mod. *haw-* in "hawthorn." See Wyld. The only SUSSEX NAME in which *haga* occurs in Sweethaws.

O.E. *halh*, "corner," "angle." For the older ideas as to the meaning of *halh*, *healh*, and a discussion on it see Wyld. It is often difficult to decide whether names in *-hall* may be referred to this element, or to O.E. *heall*, "a hall." On this point see Jellinghaus, p. 285.

SUSSEX NAMES. Buxshalls (?), Copsale, Hall Green, Halton (?), Lurgashall. The Lancs. *Haulgh*, near Bolton, is

locally pronounced (hof) and preserves the M.E. spelling of the independent word.

O.E. *hāþ*, "heath," "waste land." German *Heide*; see Jellinghaus. Occurs in Heathfield, Lowfield Heath. The name *Hoathley* contains O.E. **hāþ*, a hypothetical unmutated form.

O.E. *hlinc*, *hlenc*. Mod. "link" (cf. "golf links"), *-linch* and *-lench* in pl.-ns. See Wyld, Pt II, and Jellinghaus, p. 305.

SUSSEX NAMES. Crowlinke, Linch *or* Lynch, Linchmere, Stonelynk.

O.E. **hnōc*, M.E. *nook*, "a corner," "angle," "nook." The history of the word is doubtful, see Wyld. **hnōc* may form the second element of Sussex *Wannock*.

O.E. *hōc*, "hook," "corner of land," see Wyld.

In O.E. pl.-ns., *Wirtroneshóc*, C.D. iii. 97 (cit. Jellinghaus). The name *Hooke* is common all over England.

SUSSEX NAMES. The Hooke, Rowhook.

O.E. *hōh*, "hough," "heel of land." Gmc. **hanχ-*; cf. O.Norse *hā*.

-hōh appears in M.E. as *hough*, the datives *hōe* and *hōge* variously as *-hoo*, *-hoe*, *-howe*. Mod. *-hoe* (= hou) is due to a late lengthening of the M.E. unstressed *-ho*. For a discussion of this element see Wyld; Jellinghaus, pp. 291–2.

SUSSEX NAMES. Ebernoe, Hooe, Houghton (*not* from **hōc-tūn*), Howe, Piddinghoe. In the last name the *-hoe*, *-howe* spellings alternate with *-hey* (< O.E. *gehæge*) in the earlier forms.

O.E. *holt*, "a wood"; cf. Germ. *holz*. See remarks under *Hazelwood* in Pt I. A common element in Engl. pl.-ns.; Jellinghaus, p. 923, cites *Æscholt*, C.D. v. 103 (= *Aisholt*, Somers.), and *bocholte*, C.D. iii. 377 (anno 724) (= *Bookholt*, Kent), and gives also the continental distribution of the cognate *-hout*, *-houte*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Hazelwood (early forms), Holtye, Wiggonholt.

O.E. *hrycg*, "ridge," "side of a hill"; cf. Germ. *Rücken*. See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Brantridge, Eridge Green, Iridge Place.

O.E. *hyll*, "hill." See Wyld, Jellinghaus, and Middendorff.

SUSSEX NAMES. Barrow Hill, Best Beech Hill, Bexhill (q.v. Pt 1), Boarzell, Borde Hill, Bow Hill, Broomhill (early form in *-knoll*), Buchan Hill, Buckham Hill, Burgess Hill, Burton Hill, Castle Hill (early forms *Castelowe*), Chick Hill, Cissbury Hill, Codmore Hill, Crocker Hill, Danehill, Darrell Hall(?), Denne Hill, Galley Hill, Gore Hill, Hamsell(?), Henley Hill, Highdown Hill, Holly Hill, Mare Hill, Newells(?), Pax Hill Park, Perry Hill, Pitshill, Pixton Hill, Poundhill, Rotherhill, Salt Hill Park, Saxonbury Hill, Scagne's Hill, Shepherd's Hill, Standard Hill, Stub Hill, Summer Hill, Telham Hill, Tower Hill, Tripp Hill, Trundle Hill, Turner's Hill, West Hill, White Hill, Windmill Hill Place.

O.E. *hyrne* (*horn*), "corner"; see Jellinghaus, who cites *oð Doddinghyrnan*, C.D. i. 1; *on Hornan þæm wudu*, C.D. ii. 46. The mod. pers. n. *Hearne* presupposes the O.E. Kt. form **herne*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Horncroft and Imberhorne.

O.E. *hyrst*, "wood"; cf. O.H.G. *hrusten = ornare* (B.-T.) and mod. Germ. *-horst*.

A very common element in Engl. pl.-ns. O.E. *hyrst* always appears in Sussex as *hurst* or *herst*, never *hirst*, and is normally pronounced (-əst) as a second element.

SUSSEX NAMES. Ashurst, Ashurstwood, Bramblehurst, Buckhurst Park, Chithurst, Coghurst Hall, Coneyhurst, Coolhurst, Crowhurst, Ewhurst *or* Yewhurst, Fernhurst, Gravenhurst, Greenhurst, Herst- *or* Hurstmonceux, High Hurstwood, Horsted (*Hirsted* occurs among the early forms; see Pt 1), Hurst, Hurst Green, Hurstpierpoint, Isenhurst, Laurelhurst, Lydhurst, Madehurst, Maplehurst, Midhurst, Normanhurst, Nuthurst, Paddockhurst, Penhurst, Rotherhurst, Salehurst, Spithurst, Stonehurst, Ticehurst, Wadhurst, Wakehurst Place, Wallhurst, Warminghurst, Wimblehurst, Woldhurstlea, Woodhurst, Wykehurst.

O.E. *land*, *lond*, "land," "piece of land"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Beechlands, Blacklands, Bridgland, Furnace (early form *Furneysslond*; see Pt 1), Halland, Huntsland, Northlands, Oaklands, Oldlands.

O.E. *mersc*, "marsh." Common as an independent word in O.E., and as a component of pl.-ns., e.g. *Bicamersc*, C.D. iii. 15; *Stodmersche*, C.D. i. 31 (= *Stodmarsh*, Kent).

SUSSEX NAMES. Merston, Maresfield, Marsham (see all these names in Pt I), Wardley Marsh.

O.French *munt* < Lat. *montem*. See Wyld, Pt II.

SUSSEX NAMES. The Mount, Mount Harry, Mountfield (but see this name in Pt I), Muntham.

O.E. *næss*, "ness," "headland"; see Wyld. Jellinghaus defines O.E. *næsse* as "erdzunge in die see oder in die ebene, vorgebirge." In Southamptonshire *nose* = "a neck of land" (p. 308). Cf. the mod. names *Dungeness*, *Skegness*, *The Naze*, *Naseby*, etc.

SUSSEX NAMES. Langness, Wilderness (or is this simply called *W.* because of its situation, or of the poverty of the land?).

O.E. *ōfer*, "bank," "shore" = Germ. *ufer*. Commonly appears in M.E. as *-over*, *-ore*, in the latter case causing confusion with O.E. *ōra*, which had a similar meaning. See Jellinghaus, p. 309.

SUSSEX NAMES. Bignor, Bolnore(?), Southover.

O.E. *ōra*, "bank of a stream"; "rand," "ufer," "ecke" (Jellinghaus).

In O.E. pl.-ns.—*Billanora*, C.D. ii. 74 (*Bilnor*, Kent), *Cumenoran*, C.D. i. 271 (*Cumnor*, Berks.) cit. Jellinghaus. Cf. also the modern *Windsor*, *Hadsor*, etc.

SUSSEX NAMES. Bognor, Bolnore (? or *ōfer*), West Itchenor, Ore.

O.E. *pōl*, "pool." Also *pul*. See Wyld, Pt II, also under *Liverpool* in Pt I; Jellinghaus, p. 310, who says *pól*, *pull* are "häufig in namen."

SUSSEX NAME. Pulborough.

O.E. *sceaga*, "shaw," "wood"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAME. The Shaw.

O.E. **score*, M.E. *schore*, "shore"; see Skeat, Etym. Dict. Only appears in one Sussex name, *Shoreham*.

O.E. *sǣ*, "sea." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Seabeach, Seacox House, Seaford.

O.E. *stān*, "stone"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAMES. Hunston, Standean, Stane Street(?), Stanmer, Stansted, Stonecross, Stonegate, Stonehurst, Stonelynk.

O.E. *twisla*, "fork of a river or a road"; O.H.G. *zwisila*, "fork," "bent *or* forked twig"; O.Norse, *kvisil*; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Twisley.

O.E. *weald*, *wald*, "forest"; Mod. *-wold* (would) represents the O.E. Mercian type *wald*; *weald* (wīld) goes back to the W.S. fractured *weald*.

SUSSEX NAMES. The Weald, Burwash Weald, Woldhurstlea, Woldringfold(?).

O.E. *well*, *wiell*, *wyll*, "a well"; often confused in M.E. with *-wall* < O.E. *weall*, "a wall"; cf. *Aspin(w)all* < O.E. *æspenwell*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Brickwall(?) (or is this what it appears to be?), Buckwell, Colwell, Duddleswell, Flinwell, Fontwell, Graylingwell, Holywell, Miswell, Shoyswell Manor.

O.E. *wudu*, "wood"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAMES. Abbot's Wood, Ashurstwood, Beechwood, Borden Wood, Chelwood, Coldharbour Wood, Cowsley Wood, Goodwood, Hammerwood, Hazelwood (q.v. Pt I), High Hurstwood, Loxwood, Valewood, Wildham Wood, Woodcote, Woodend, Woodhurst, Wodmancote *or* Woodmancot, Woodman's Green, Wood's Green (or is *wood* here a pers. n.?).

5. *Elements denoting divisions or portions of land.*

O.E. *æcer*, "a field," "land." See Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAME. Halnaker.

O.E. *croft*, "croft," "small, enclosed field." See Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAME. Horncroft.

O.E. (non-W.S.) *erþ* (< **arþi*), "ploughed land." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Eartham.

O.E. *leah*, "pasture land," "open meadow." See Wyld, Pt II, and Jellinghaus, p. 304, under *lea*. This element appears

in modern Engl. variously as *-ley*, *-leigh*, *-lea*, and *lee*, and its continental cognate as *-loh*, *-loe*, *-loo*.

Professor Wyld tells me that this element used to be pronounced in Sussex as (*-lai*) with a secondary stress, but that it is now usually (*-li*). This older (*-lai*), if it is not a mere spelling-pronunciation, must represent the O.E. dative *lēāge*. Cf. the development of *high* < O.E. *hēāh* and *eye* < *ēāge*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Abbotsleigh, Amberley, Ardingly, Baldslow (earliest forms in *-lei*), Beckley, Chailey, Chiddingly, Chorley Common, Cowsley Wood, Crawley and Crawley Down, Earnley, Fairlight (q.v. Pt I), Glenleigh House, Hadlow Down (earliest forms in *-legh*), Hellingly, Henley, Highleigh, Hoathley, Kingley Bottom, Kingsley Hill, Langley, Leonardslee, Lumley, Marklye, Nutley, Pashley, Ripsley, Shillinglee, Shipley (note early forms in *-lake* in Pt I above), Twisley, Verdley, Wardley Marsh, Whiligh and Whyly, Woldhurstlea.

O.E. **mylde* (< **muldi*), a by-form of O.E. *molde*, "dust," "sand," "earth." Possibly this element exists in Rodmell (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. *timber*, "land zum bau von kirchen gegeben" (Jellinghaus, p. 323). For distribution see this article.

SUSSEX NAMES. Newtimber, Nytimber.

6. *Elements denoting landmarks and artificial features.*

O.E. *beorg*, "a hill," dative *beorge*. The O.E. nominative appears in modern names as *-bergh* or *-ber*; e.g. in *Sedbergh*, the dative generally as *-barrow*. See *Cringelbarrow* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt I.

O.E. *beorg* is often confused in early forms of pl.-ns. with O.E. *burg* (q.v. under (9) below). Leithaeuser Berg. Ortsn., notes a similar interchange in such continental names as *Beyenberg* (c. 1200 *Bienberg*, 1396 and later mostly *Byenborg or Byenburg*). For other examples see Berg. Ortsn. pp. 12, 13, also Jellinghaus, Westf. Ortsn. pp. 3, 11.

SUSSEX NAMES. (i) O.E. *beorg*—Wyseberg.

(ii) O.E. dative *beorge*—Barrow Hill.

(iii) O.E. *beorg* confused with *burg*—Pulborough, Swanborough, Wisborrow *or* Wisborough Green (also called Wyseberg as in (i) above).

M.E. and Mod.E. *cross* (cf. O.Norse *kross*, originally a Celtic loan-word, cf. Lat. *crūx*, *crūcem*. Skeat, Etym. Dict.). See Wyld, Pt II, under O.Norse *kross*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Ball's Cross, Crossbush, Cross-in-Hand, Crowborough Cross, Handcross, High Cross, John's Cross, Mark Cross, Ringle's Cross, Sandy Cross, Southern Cross, Staplecross, Stonecross, Three Legged Cross, Wychcross Place (*and* Faircrouch?).

Mod.E. *gate*, O.E. *gatu*, *gatum* (plural type; the nom. *geat* would produce modern *yate*, *yett*, as in the pers. n. *Yates*). The *-yate*, *-yett* forms never appear in Sussex. See Wyld, Pt II. On O.E. *geat* and the modern word *gate* see also Jellinghaus, p. 283.

SUSSEX NAMES. Durgates, Eastergate, Faygate, Fishergate (see Pt I), Horsgate, Monksgate, Northgate House, Polegate, Rogate, Sandgate, Shortgate, Tilgate Forest, Watergate House, Westergate.

O.E. *hæċċe*, "a gate (made of lattice-work)," mod. "hatch." Westphalian German *hacke* = "gartentor," "hofpforte" (Jellinghaus). For the distribution of the element in O.E. see Jellinghaus, Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn. pp. 288–9.

SUSSEX NAMES. Coleman's Hatch, Trulls Hatch. "Hatch" is a very common surname in mod. Engl.

O.E. *gehæge*, "boundary," "fenced-in way." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Heyshot, Piddinghoe (early forms), Roffey *or* Roughey.

Mod. *haven* < O.E. *hæfen*. Jellinghaus, p. 289, cites no examples of *hæfen* in O.E. pl.-ns., but gives mod. Engl. *Whitehaven* (Cumb.), *Haveningham* (Suff.), older *Hæfenanham* (no reference).

SUSSEX NAMES (no early forms). Cuckmere Haven, The Haven, Newhaven.

O.E. *hlǣw*, *hlāw*, *hlā*, "burial-mound," "tumulus," "rising-ground." See Wyld and Jellinghaus. It is sufficient here to note the three types—

(1) O.E. *hlā* (nom.) > *-low*(*e*) (= lou),
(2) O.E. *hlāwe* (oblique cases) > *-lawe* (= lɔ̄), } both locally pronounced (-lə),
(3) O.E. *hlǣw* (nom.) > *-lew* (= lū, ljū) as in the surname *Martlew* (= mātlu *or* mātljū).

SUSSEX NAMES. Baldslow (earlier forms also in *-lei*), Cudlawe *or* Cudlowe, Lewes, Lowfield Heath.

O.E. *gelād*, "way," "path"; cf. Gthc. *galaiþs*, *galaiþjan*.
SUSSEX NAME. Portslade (q.v.).

O.E. **gelǣd*, a mutated or analogical form of the above.
SUSSEX NAME. Warninglid (q.v.).

O.E. *port*, "direkt aus dem Romanischen; französ. *port*. Rechts und links vom Unterrhein kennt man keine mit lat. *portus* gebildete namen...*Bridport*, Dorset = *Brideport*, D.B. 75" (Jellinghaus, p. 310). On O.E. *port* and *porte* see also Middendorff, Altengl. Flurnamenbuch.
SUSSEX NAMES. Beauport, Gosport.

Engl. *snape*; M.E. *snāpe*, "poor or boggy pasture"; see Wyld.
SUSSEX NAME. Snape.

Engl. *spar*, literally "a beam," "bar," "rafter," possibly used as a boundary mark, although not recorded in O.E.; M.E. *sparre* in Cant. Tales—"...and rente adoun both wal and *sparre* and rafter" (Knightes Tale, A, l. 990, in Skeat's Ed.). The word does not exist in O.E., although the verb *sparrian*, "to fasten with a bar or bolt," is found. For a discussion of the word see Skeat, Etym. Dict. under *spar*.

E.D.D. only gives the common meanings "wooden bar," "bolt," "rafter," "small transverse timbers of a roof to which the rafters are nailed." Possibly the word existed in O.E. with the meaning "timber," "stick" or "pole," used as a boundary mark (cf. *Polegate*, *Poling*).
SUSSEX NAME. Rusper.

O.E. *strēt*, *strǣt*, an early (W.Gmc.) loan-word from Lat. *strata* (*via*), O.H.G. *strāzza*.

Jellinghaus says "...in einigen Namen wie *Street* (Ssx.), *Buckle Street* (Worcs.) < *Buggilde Stret*, C.D. iii. 376. Die Namen beziehen sich wohl stets auf römische Strassen."

SUSSEX NAMES. Streat *or* Street, Strettington(?); Bodle St., Boreham St., Cade St., Coggins Mill St., Gardner St., Gay St., Hewin St., Lynnick St., Milton St., Stane St.

7. *Elements denoting trees, plants, and vegetation.*

O.E. *āc*, "oak." See Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAMES. Broadoak, Five Oaks, Four Oaks, Mile Oak, Oakdown, Oaklands, Oakwood.

O.E. *ācen*, adj. "oaken."

SUSSEX NAME. Oakendean.

O.E. **ǣcen* (*c* = back-stop), a by-form of *ācen*.

SUSSEX NAME. Eckington (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. *æsc*, "ash-tree." In many cases *Ash-* in pl.-ns. may be the O.E. pers. n. *Æsc*, *Æsca*. See the names in Pt I above.

SUSSEX NAMES. Ashburnham, Ashurst, Ashurstwood, Burwash, Five Ash Down.

O.E. *alor*, "alder-tree." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Aldrington (which may, however, contain the pers. n. *Ealdhere*).

O.E. *apuldor*, "apple-tree."

SUSSEX NAME. Appledram *or* Apuldram.

O.E. *bēān*, "bean," "vetch" = N.H.G. *bohne*; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Binsted (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. *birce*, "birch."

SUSSEX NAME. Birch Grove.

O.E. *beorc*, a by-form of *birce*, etymologically = mod. "bark."

SUSSEX NAMES. Barcombe, Barkfold House.

O.E. *box*, "box-tree" = Lat. *buxus*; Gk. πυξός. A very common element in Engl. pl.-ns.; see Wyld, also Skeat, Cambs. Pl.-Ns., under *Boxwood*, Herts. Pl.-Ns., under *Boxmoor*.

A mutated form of the word O.E. **byxe*, is the first element of Ssx. *Bexhill*, which has early forms in *Bex-*, *Bix*, and *Bux-*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Boxgrove and Bexhill-on-Sea.

O.Fr. *bois*, "a wood." See Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., under *Warboys*, and cf. the mod. pers. n. *Boyce*.

SUSSEX NAME. Blackboys.

O.E. *brēmel*, *brǣmel*, *brǣmber*, "bramble," allied to *brōm*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Bramber, Bamblehurst, Brambletye.

O.E. *brōm*, "broom," "genista." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Broomhill and Broomers Corner.

Engl. *bush* < O.E. **bysc*. For a discussion of the word see Skeat, Etym. Dict., s.v., and Herts. Pl.-Ns., under *Bushey*. The ultimate origin of the word is "Late Lat. *boscus*, of unknown origin, whence also French *bois*" (Skeat).

Jellinghaus, p. 275, points out *Warboys* as having *-bush* for its second element.

Or is it not possible that mod. *bush* may be a French loan-word from *buisson*, *boisson*; mod. Fr. *buisson*?

SUSSEX NAMES. Bewbush (= O.Fr. **belbuisson*), Crossbush, Holmbush.

O.E. *ēw*, *īēw*, "yew" = N.H.G. *eibe*. Occurs in O.E. pl.-ns. *Eowcumb* (C.D. No. 313), *Eowhryc* (Ewridge) (No. 495), *Iwden* (No. 452).

SUSSEX NAME. Ewhurst, Yewhurst.

O.E. *fearn*, "fern." A very common element; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Fernhurst.

O.E. *hæsel*, "hazel"; O.H.G. *hasal*, *hasul*; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Hazelwood, Haslet.

O.E. *hnutu*, "nut," "nut-tree"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Nutbourne, Nuthurst, Nutley.

O.E. *holegn*, *holen*, adj. "of holly"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Hollington (Rural and St John).

O.E. *holm* (not O.Norse *hōlmr*) = "holly," "holly-bush"; see remarks under *Holmestrowe* in Pt I.

SUSSEX NAMES. Holmbush, Holmestrowe, Holmstead, Inholm(?), (no early forms).

O.E. *minte*, "mint" < Lat. *mentha*.

SUSSEX NAME. Minsted.

O.E. *secge*, "sedge," "sword-grass"; O.H.G. *sahar*. See Jellinghaus, p. 313.

SUSSEX NAMES. Sedgebrook (a very common Engl. pl.-n.), and Sedgwick (= sedžik).

O.E. *trēō*, dat. *trēōwe*, "tree"; see Wylde and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAMES. Crabtree, Holmestrowe, Treyford.

O.E. *þorn*, "thorn," "thorn-bush," "thorn-tree," also O.E. *þyrne*, "thorn-tree."

SUSSEX NAMES. Copthorne, Island of Thorns *or* Thorney Isle, Sharpthorne.

8. *Elements denoting names of animals and birds.*

In many cases it is impossible to decide whether such elements as *Catt*, *Earn*, *Wulf* refer to animals or to men. The presence of a genitive suffix argues in favour of a pers. n., although it is not absolutely conclusive. See Wyld, Pt II. The following are examples in Sussex.

O.E. *bār*, "boar."

SUSSEX NAMES. Boar's Head, Boarzell (= *bāreshyll), Borden Wood(?).

O.E. *ceatt*, *catt*, "cat." Probably the Sussex *Catsfield Place* contains the O.E. pers. n. *Catt*; see the name in Pt I.

Mod. *coney*, M.E. *coni*, *conyng* < A.Fr. *conil* < Lat. *cūniculus* (Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

SUSSEX NAMES. Coneyhurst and Conyboro.

O.E. *crāwe*, "crow"; see Wyld, also *Crāwe*, a female pers. n.

SUSSEX NAMES. Crowborough, Crowhurst, Crowham.

O.E. *cū*, "cow."

SUSSEX NAMES. Cowfold, Cowbeech(?), Cowsley(?) (or does

this contain the pers. n. *Col*?). The genitive plu. *cȳa* appears in Sussex *Keymer* (q.v. above).

O.E. *earn*, e.g. "eagle"; cf. Gk. *ὄρνις*.
SUSSEX NAME. Earnley.

O.E. *fise*, "fish." Often a pers. n.; see Wyld, Pt II.
SUSSEX NAME. Old and New Fishbourne.

O.E. *gōs*, "goose"; O.H.G. *gans*; O.Norse *gás*; see Wyld. There was also an O.E. pers. n. *Gōsa*.
SUSSEX NAMES. Gosden, Gosport.

O.E. *hana*, "cock"; O.H.G. *hano*; Gthc. *hana*.
SUSSEX NAME. Henfield (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. *heorot*, "a hart," "stag." For examples of *heorot* in O.E. see *Hartfield* in Pt I.
SUSSEX NAMES. Hartfield, Harting E., S., and W.

O.E. *hors*, "horse"; also the pers. n. *Horsa*.
SUSSEX NAMES. Horse Eye, Horsbridge, Horsey, Horsgate, Horsham, Horsted and Horsted Keynes.

O.E. *hriþer* (< **hrinþri*) and *hrȳðer* (< **hrunþri*), "ram," "horned beast." See Wyld, Pt II. Appears in mod. Ssx. names as *Rother-* (= raðə *or* radə), possibly influenced by the O.E. pers. n. *Hrōþhere*. Such names as *Rotherham*, *Rutherford*, etc. are very common in England.
SUSSEX NAMES. Rotherbridge *or* Robertsbridge (q.v. Pt I), Rotherfield (q.v. Pt I), Rotherhill and Rotherhurst.

O.E. *seolh*, gen. *sēōles*, "seal"; O.H.G. *selah*.
In O.E. pl.-ns. *Seolesburne*, C.D. Nos. 535, 597, 763, 1031, 1107, 1145 = *Sealsbourn*, Hants.; *Seolescumb*, ibid. No. 763, = *Sealscombe*, Hants. (cit. Kemble, Index to C.D. vol. vi).
SUSSEX NAME. Selsey (q.v. Pt I).

9. *Political and economic designations, including shelters and human habitations.*

O.E. *ærn*, "house," "abode," "dwelling," cf. O.E. *bere ærn*, "barn," *eorþ ærn*, "grave," *hord ern*, "treasury," etc. See Wyld, Pt II.
SUSSEX NAMES. Barn Rocks(?), Barnham(?) (q.v. Pt I),

Fryern House, Waldron, and possibly Woodhorn (which may, however, have O.E. *horn, hyrne*, "corner," as its second element.

O.E. *burg, burh*, dative *byrig*, originally "a fortified place," "fastness," then a "castle," "city," "town." See Wyld, Pt II. On the confusion between *burh* and *beorh* in early forms see remarks on *beorh* under (6) above.

In mod. Engl. pl.-ns. O.E. *burg* generally appears as *Bur-*, when a first element, *-borough* or *-burg* or *-boro* when a second, while the dative appears always as *-bury*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Burdocks(?), Burpham (< **burhhām*), Burton, Burwash (< **burgæsc*), Bury, Cissbury Hill, Conyboro, Crowborough, Saxonbury Hill, Shermanbury, Wisborrow *or* Wisborough Green (see *beorh* above), Wolstonbury Beacon and West Borough.

O.E. *cester*, "a city" < Lat. *castra*. In the forms *-chester, -cester*, and *-caster*, a very common element in Engl. pl.-ns.

SUSSEX NAME. Chichester.

O.E. *cot, cott*, "dwelling," "house." See Wyld, also Alexander (Notes on some O.E. elements, p. 25).

SUSSEX NAMES. Coates (= *cotes*, gen. sing.), Sennicots, Wodmancote *or* Woodmancot.

O.E. (*ge*)*dræg* = modern "dray"; in pl.-ns. = "cot for shelter." E.D.D. under *Dray* (2) gives "a squirrel's nest" rarely "a larger nest, such as a hawk's, in Cumb., Nhp., Shrops., Berks., Beds., Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hants. and Wilts." See Skeat's remarks on *dray* = "cot for shelter" in Berks. Pl.-Ns. and Cambs. Pl.-Ns., under *Drayton*, also Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., under *Draycot*.

SUSSEX NAME. Cowdray Park.

O.E. *fæsten*, "fastness," "fortress." See Jellinghaus, who gives examples of *Fæsten* in O.E., and refers to Low Germ. *veste* = "gerichtsbezirk."

SUSSEX NAME. Brimfast.

O.E. *fald*, earlier *falud*, "fold." See Wyld and Jellinghaus. The confusion between O.E. *fald* and O.E. *feld* in early forms has already been noted (Introduction, under "Word-Formation," and under *feld* in (5) above).

SUSSEX NAMES. Ashfold, Cowfold, Flitchfold, Ifold, Kingsfold, Lickfold, Shernfold, Slinfold, Woldringfold.

O.E. **gea* (cf. *yeo-* in "yeoman"); O.H.G. *gawi*, *gewi*, *kawi*, *kewi*; Gthc. *gawi* = "village."

SUSSEX NAME. Southease (q.v. Pt I).

Mod. *grange*; M.E. *grange*, *graunge* < O.Fr. *grange* < Lat. *grania*, cf. *granum* (Skeat) = "a barn," later "a farm house."

SUSSEX NAME. The Grange.

O.E. *mynster*, "minster" < Lat. *monasterium*. Jellinghaus says *-minster* is "häufig in namen," but gives no examples.

Mod. Engl. names—Leominster, Westminster, etc.

SUSSEX NAMES. Lullington (early forms), Lyminster, Parkminster.

O.E. *stede*, "a place," "stead"; N.H.G. *stätte*; Gthc. *staþs* A very common element in Engl. pl.-ns.

SUSSEX NAMES. Bersted, Binsted, Buxted, Elstead, Grinstead, Hapstead, Hempstead, Hickstead, Holmstead, Horsted, Minsted, Prinsted, Stansted, Walstead.

O.E. *stoc*, *stocc*, "stock," "post," "village."

On the meaning of the word Jellinghaus says "*Stock* als praefix wird die Bedeutung 'stamm,' 'geschlecht' des ae. *stoc* haben und die Mutterstadt eines Distriktes anzeigen; als suffix wird es oft das Dorf bedeuten das durch eine Person gegründet ist."

Stoke and *Stoughton* are very common pl.-ns. in England.

SUSSEX NAMES. Stoke, Stockbridge, Stoughton.

O.E. *stōw*, "place," "mansion," "house"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAME. Plaistow.

O.E. *tūn*, "an enclosed piece of land, manor, hamlet." See Wyld, Jellinghaus, and Middendorff.

SUSSEX NAMES. Aldrington, Alfriston, Almodington, Ancton *or* Ankton (Angmering < O.E. **Angemǣringatūn*), Arlington, Ashington, Atherington, Babintone, Bebyngton *or* Bepton, Barlavington, Barlton *or* Belton, Binderton, Bishopstone,

Blachington, Blackstone (?), Brighton, Buddington, Buncton, Burton, Cattlestone (?), Chalvington, Charleston, Charlton, Chiltington, Clayton, Compton, Dallington, Denton, Ditton Place, Donnington, Duncton, Durrington, Easton, Eckington, Edburton, Folkington, Friston, Funtington, Halton, Hangleton, S. Heighton, Hollington, Houghton, Jevington, Kingston, Laughton, Lavington, Lidlington, Littlehampton, Lordington, Lullington, Merston, Middleton, Milton Hide, Milton Street, Norton, Novington, Nyton, Pixton, Plumpton, Preston, Racton, Runcton, Runtington, Rustington, Salvington, Sherrington Manor, Singleton, Storrington, Stoughton, Strettington, Sullington, Sutton, Tillington, Toddington *or* Tottington, Tortington, Trotton, Upperton, Waddington, Walberton, Walderton, Washington, Westerton, Westmeston, Weston, Whatlington, Wilmington, Wiston, Woolavington, Yapton.

Engl. *tye*, M.E. *teghe*, *tighe* < O.E. *tēāh*, dative *tēāge*, "paddock." This element has been previously noted by Middendorff in his Al. Flurnamenbuch, but his remarks are somewhat vague. The word is descended from O.E. *tēāg*, *tēāh* in the same way as *high* from *hēāh* and *eye* from *ēāye*.

Sweet (A.-S. Dict.) defines *tēāg* as "bond," "chain," "tape," "case," "casket," "enclosure," "paddock." The last two meanings are appropriate to our purpose. The word is related to O.E. *tēōn*, "to draw together," "pull," and the sense is "something drawn *or* pulled together," i.e. "something enclosed."

On *-tye* the E.D.D. remarks:

"*tye*, Suff., Essex, Kt., Ssx. Also written *tie* (Essex), *tay* (Essex), *teage* (Kt.), *tey* (Essex) =

(1) extensive common pasture or field,

(2) a close or enclosure.

...In Kent the word *tigh* is still used in the same sense (i.e. a close or enclosure, a croft)...."

SUSSEX NAMES. Brambletye, Lavertye.

Anstey may be, as Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., supposes, simply O.E. *ānstiga*, "path for one," or it may be O.E. **Anestēāh*, where *Ane* is a pers. n. Again *Holtye* may be O.E. **holtēg* or **holttēāh*. In the absence of early forms it is impossible to decide.

O.E. *weorþ*, "worth," "homestead," "farm," also *worþig*, *weorþig*. See Wyld and Jellinghaus, who says (Anglia xx. p. 330) "...Etwa 300 wohnorte auf *-worth*. Sehr beachtenswert ist, dass in Nthmb. und Cumb. fast gar keine vorkommen." The dictionaries give the Latin equivalents *prædium*, *platea*, *vicus*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Aldworth, Aldsworth, Byworth, Colworth, Densworth, Fittleworth, Lodsworth, Petworth, Tottingworth Park, Worthing.

O.E. *wic*, "habitation," "house," "dwelling," "abode."

Much has been written on this element. See Wyld, Jellinghaus and Middendorff, also Cornelius' suggestive article in the "Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbuch," Stud. zur engl. Philol. 50. The interesting point is that O.E. *wīc* unstressed always appears in Sussex as *-wick*, with the back-stop. It is, in my opinion, unnecessary to assume wholesale Northern influence to account for this form. Out of such O.E. compounds as *wīcfold*, *wīcford*, *wīcþorn*, etc. (where the *ċ* immediately precedes a voiceless open consonant) there would normally develop M.E. forms in *wik-*, which was then evidently chosen as the standard type in Sussex.

Jellinghaus, p. 327, says, "Engl. dial. *wick*...Da *wic* sowohl bei den Deutschen als bei den Dänen gebräuchlich war, so treten die *-wick*, *-wich* am häufigsten einerseits in Sussex, Somerset, andererseits in Yorkshire, Northamptonsh. auf...."

Looking through J.'s list of modern names containing this element I find there are 21 *-wick's*, *-wyck's* against two *-wich's*.

SUSSEX NAMES (i) *-wick*, etc. Aldwick, Berwick, Lydwicke, Lynnick Street, Newick, Ridg(e)wick *or* Rudg(e)wick, Roundwick, Rumboldswhyke, Sedgwick, Southwick (= saðik), Terwick, Wick, Wicks, Wykehurst Park.

(ii) *wych*. Wychcross Place.

10. *Human occupation and rank.*

O.E. *biscop*, "bishop." A very early loan-word from Lat. *episcopus*, Gk. ἐπίσκοπος. Cf. O.H.G. *piskof*, *biskof*; O.Norse *biskup*. See Wyld, Pt II.

SUSSEX NAME. Bishopstone.

O.E. *cyning*, "a king." The form *Coning-* from the Norse cognate *konungr* often appears in Northern names. See Wyld, Pt II.

SUSSEX NAMES. Kingsfold, Kingsham, Kingston.

O.E. *fiscere*, "fisher."

SUSSEX NAME. Fishergate.

O.E. *prēōst*, "priest"; O.L. German *prēstar* < Lat. *presbyter* < Gk. πρεσβύτερος. See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Preston and Priestcomb.

O.E. **slaga*, **slaha*, connected with *slēān*, and derived from the base **slag-* by means of the agent suffix *-a* = "a slayer," perhaps in the sense of "deer-stalker," or possibly "butcher." Unfortunately I cannot trace the word in modern dialects, though it may well have existed in O.E.

SUSSEX NAME. Slaugham (= slæfm).

O.E. *waca*, "watcher," "guardian" (= O.E. *weard*), derived, in the same way as the preceding word, from the base **wak-*, "to be on guard," "to be awake" (cf. *wacian*).

SUSSEX NAME. Wakehurst (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. *wealh*, *walh*, "a foreigner," "stranger." See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Walstead Common (?), Walton, Wannock.

II. *Elements denoting colours.*

O.E. *blāc*, "bright," "shining"; O.S. *blēk*; O.H.G. *pleih*, *bleih*. This element often appears in M.E. as *blăk-* through vowel-shortening before consonant-groups, and is then indistinguishable from M.E. *blăk*, *black* < O.E. *blæc*, which has precisely the opposite meaning, i.e. "black." Possibly the following names may contain O.E. *blæc*.

SUSSEX NAMES. Blackboys, Blacklands, Blacknest, Blackrock, Blackstone? (=**blæcstan*, **blăcstān* or Blaca's *tūn*?), Blackwaters.

Blackham (q.v. Pt I) probably represents O.E. **Blacanhām*.

O.E. *grēne*, "green"; O.H.G. *gruoni*, *kruoni*; O.S. *grōni*. Also used in mod. Engl. as a noun meaning "a field," "expanse

of pasture-land." See Wyld, Pt II. On modern names in *Grin-* cf. remarks under *Grinstead* above. Cf. also the pronunciation (grinidž) = *Greenwich.*

SUSSEX NAMES. West Green, Greenhurst, Grinstead, Barn's Green, Bell's Yew Green, Bodle Street Green, Brook's Green, Broomer's Green, Chapel Green, Dragon's Green, Eridge Green, Ford's Green, Furner's Green, Gipsy Green, Gosden Green, Hale Green, Hurst Green, Ingram's Green, Maynard's Green, Muddle's Green, Partridge Green, Pell Green, Pont's Green, Rose Green, Rushlake Green, Shover's Green, Sidley Green, Sparrow's Green, Stunt's Green, Wisborough Green, Woodman's Green, Wood's Green.

O.E. *rēād*, "red"; O.H.G. *rōt*, O.Norse *rauðr*; cf. Gk. *ἐρυθρός*, Lat. *ruber.* Appears in modern names as *Red-*, *Rad-*, and in the North often as *Rod-*, through influence of the Norse *rauðr.* On the Sussex *Rodmill* and its early forms see Pt I.

SUSSEX NAMES. Redford, Rodmell *or* Rodmill.

II. *Various elements* (*mostly descriptive adjectives*).

O.E. *bǣl*, "funeral-pyre," a common word in O.E. poetry; O.H.G. *bāl.* See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Balcombe (?) (see Pt I).

O.Fr. *bel* < Lat. *bellus*, "beautiful," "bright," "fair"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Beachy Head, Belmoredean House (?), Belton (?) (= Barlavington, see Pt I), Beaufort, Bewbush.

O.E. *bōc*, "a book," but also "a charter." Cf. the passage "Þæt is Þæt hire lǣfde hire fæder *land* and *bōc*, swā he mid rihte beget" (A.-S. Reader[7], No. xii. p. 54).

In O.E. pl.-ns. *Bocholt*, C.D. No. 72, *Boclond*, No. 1210, and *Boctun*, No. 1315 (cit. Kemble, Index to C.D. vol. vi). O.E. *bōc* appears in modern names as *Book-* or *Buck-*, e.g. in *Bookholt*, Kt., *Buckland*, Berks.

SUSSEX NAMES. Buckham Hill (?), Bucksteep, Buckwell, Buckhurst Park, Buxted.

O.E. *brād*, "broad," "wide." This element always appears in Ssx. names as *Broad-*, never as *Brad-*. This may be due to the analogy of the independent adjective, or to the preservation of an O.E. inflected type. See Wyld, Pt II.

SUSSEX NAMES. Broadoak, Broadford (contrast Yorks. *Bradford*), Broadhill, Broadwater.

O.E. **brǣd*, a mutated form of *brād*, is preserved in the modern Sussex name *Brede* (q.v. in Pt I).

O.E. *brant*, "steep," "high." See remarks under *Brantridge* in Pt I.

SUSSEX NAME. Brantridge.

O.E. *eald*, *ald*, "old." On *Eald(a)* as a pers. n. see *Aldingbourne* in Pt I.

SUSSEX NAMES. Aldworth, Old Fishbourne, Old House Warren, Oldlands Hall.

-ett, the N.-Fr. diminutive suffix. *-et* or *-ot* is common as a diminutive suffix in pers. ns., cf. *Elias* and *Elliott*, *Emma* and *Emmot*, *William* and *Wilmot*, etc.

SUSSEX NAMES. Easthampnett and Westhampnett. Haslet may be O.E. **hæsel* + *-ett* or *Has-lete* = O.E. **Hasan lēte*.

O.E. *fæger*, "fair"; O.H.G., O.S. *fagar*. See Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Fairwarp (?), Faircrouch (?). On *Fairlight* see Pt I above.

O.E. *hēāh*, "high." Naturally very common in pl.-ns. at all periods. See Wyld, Pt II.

SUSSEX NAMES. Heighton, High Beeches, High Cross, Highbrook, Highdown Hill, Highfurl, Highleigh, Highley Manor, High Hurstwood.

On *Highden* see Pt I above.

O.E. *lang*, *long*, "long"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Langley, Langley Font and Langley Point.

O.E. *nīwe*, "new"; O.H.G. *niwi*, *niuwi*; Gthc. *niujis*; Gk. *νέος*, Lat. *novus*. A very common element in Engl. pl.-ns.

SUSSEX NAMES. Newells(?), New Fishbourne, New Groombridge, Newbridge, Newhaven, Newick, Newtimber.

O.E. *rūh*, "rough"; M.E. *rough* (=rūh). In pl.-ns. the *-h-* is lost before a following consonant. The following names may equally well contain O.E. *rūh*, the adjective, or *Rūga*, a pers. n.

SUSSEX NAMES. Roff Park, Roughey, Rogate, Rusper.

O.E. *stēāp*, "steep," used as a noun in the sense of "steep ascent," "hill-side." Cf. *The Steep*, the name of a street in Lincoln.

SUSSEX NAMES. Bucksteep, Steep.

O.E. *twi-*, *twige*, *twiwa*, "twice," "double," "bi-."

Skeat finds this element in the Berks. and Herts. *Twyford* and quotes from Bede's Eccl. Hist. iv. 28 "...*ad tuifyrdi*, quod significat *ad duplex vadum*...."

SUSSEX NAMES. Twyford, Twineham (q.v. Pt I).

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